

The Counter-Reformation

1550-1600

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CHRIST CHURCH, AND EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE
BISHOPS OF LONDON AND OXFORD

A PUBLICATION OF THE LITERATURE ASSOCIATION
OF THE CHURCH UNION

LONDON
SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE
NORTHUMBERLAND AVENUE, W.C.2

First Published . 1933

Reprinted . . . 1937

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CHAPTER I

THE REVIVAL OF RELIGION IN ITALY AND SPAIN, 1520-80

§ 1. *The Reformation*, by the middle of the sixteenth century, had taken firm root in all countries north of the Alps, except France and the Netherlands. In the Empire, religious differences had reached a temporary equilibrium by the Peace of Augsburg,¹ 1555, on the principle of *Cuius regio, eius religio*. This privilege, in Germany, was accorded only to sovereign princes; but in Poland the same year saw it conceded by the Diet² to the nobility, who thenceforth enjoyed upon their estates freedom from ecclesiastical jurisdiction and full religious liberty, subject to conformity with the Scriptures and to subsequent confirmation by a national synod. In Scotland, the old order was destroyed and the new *Confession* and *Discipline* set up³ in 1560. The English Reformation attained its goal in the Elizabethan Settlement,⁴ 1563; and next year, the death of Calvin⁵ brought to an end in Switzerland the period during which the separation between Catholic and Reformed had been drawn, on lines that were destined to be permanent. The Scandinavian lands had arrived at their settlements a generation earlier: Sweden⁶ 1527-9 and Denmark and Norway⁷ 1537. Only in the Netherlands and France was the issue still uncertain. But in each of these countries strong forces were making for Protestantism; though the contest issued in their victory only in Holland and in no more than their toleration in

¹ B J Kidd, *Documents of the Continental Reformation*, No 149

² P Fox, *The Reformation in Poland*, 49 (Baltimore, 1924).

³ D C R, Nos 347-50.

⁴ H Gee and W. H. Hardy, *Documents of English Church History*, Nos. lxxix., lxxx.

⁵ D.C.R., No. 318.

⁶ *Ib.*, Nos. 101-2.

⁷ *Ib.*, No 132a.

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France. Thus by the middle of the century northern Europe had, for the most part, been lost to the Roman See. No wonder that Luigi Mocenigo, the Venetian ambassador at Rome, reported to the Signory that "in many countries, obedience to the Pope has almost ceased, and matters are becoming so critical that, if God does not interfere, they will soon be desperate . . . Germany . . . leaves but little hope of being cured. Poland is in almost as hopeless a state. The disorders which have just lately taken place in France and Spain are too well known for me to speak of them, and the Kingdom of England . . ., after returning a short time since to her old obedience, has again fallen into heresy. Thus the spiritual power of the pope is so straitened that the only remedy is a council summoned by the common consent of all princes. Unless this reduces the affairs of religion to order, a grave calamity is to be feared."¹ It was time to set about recovery.

§ 2. *The Counter-Reformation* is the name given to the movement by which it was effected. The movement was two-fold in character. It began with a period of internal reform within the Roman Church: which sprang from a revival of religion discernible first in the *Oratory of Divine Love* and then in the new Religious Orders. And this phase is to be connected mainly with Italy. After the Sack of Rome in 1527, the revival entered the field of open conflict, and weapons were forged by the help of which the Church moved out to re-conquer lands from which it had been driven. Two of these weapons drew their force from Spain: the Jesuits and the Inquisition: though they were actually set to work by the papacy. The third was the Council of Trent—the joint work of Italian and Spaniard under the control of the Holy See. By 1564 all three instruments were completed and ready for use. And, from that time forward, the Counter-Reformation, sustained by the ardour of spiritual revival, nowhere more aglow than in the papacy itself, became a political force. It gathered strength till its progress reached its limit about the end of the century. It is this recovery, with its roots struck deep in a spiritual revival and its vigour sustained by the sword of princes, that is the subject before us.

¹ Quoted in the *Catholic Encyclopædia*, iv. 438.

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§ 3. *The Oratory of Divine Love*¹ was a pious sodality, of which mention is first made during the pontificate of Leo X, 1513-†21. It was founded, c. 1517, by some distinguished men, remarkable both for learning and piety.² They met in the church of St Silvester and St Dorothea in the Trastevere, of which one of the members, Giuliano Dati, was the parish priest. They were not bound by vows; for they had not constituted themselves an Order, nor prayed for the requisite sanction. But, as divine service was negligently, and even irreverently, performed, they united themselves, in number about sixty, to restore its dignity and due observance; and by special exercises and devotions to reawaken the spiritual life. Among them were Jacopo Sadoletto,³ Bishop of Carpentras 1517-40 (†1547); Giovanni Matteo Giberti,⁴ Bishop of Verona 1524-†43; Giovanni Pietro Caraffa,⁵ Bishop of Chieti 1505-24—afterwards Cardinals and the last Pope Paul IV, 1555-†9; with Gaetano di Tienne⁶ 1480-†1547, one day to be canonised, and Luigi Lippomano,⁷ Bishop of Verona 1548-†58. This was the first stage of the movement when all its adherents were actuated by a common purpose but had, as yet, manifested no diversity of opinion.

Under Pope Adrian VI, 1522-†3, their example was followed in Verona, Vicenza, Brescia and other towns. Under Clement VII, 1523-†34, the Sack of Rome, 1527, caused the society to disperse. But it also gave a fatal blow to Rome of the Renaissance; and so removed an influence adverse to the revival of the spiritual life. In the general ruin of northern Italy, Venice alone provided a safe retreat; and Venice, as a trading city and in close connexion with Germany, enjoyed a freedom of thought unusual elsewhere. At Venice then the members of the confraternity found refuge. They were joined by others: Gasparo Contarini⁸ 1483-†1542, a Venetian nobleman, learned and

¹ Ranke, *History of the Popes*, i 101; M Philippson, *Le contre-révolution religieuse*, 24; L. Pastor, *History of the Popes*, x. 390 sqq.; *Cambridge Modern History*, ii 640

² See the account of A. Caracciolo, Vita S Caietani Thienaei, i §§ 8, 9, in *Acta SS Aug*, ii 283.

³ *Cath. Enc.*, xiii. 324.

⁴ *Ib*, vi. 549; Pastor, x. 424 sqq

⁵ *Cath Enc.*, xi 581

⁶ *Ib.*, iii. 145

⁷ *Ib.*, ix. 279.

⁸ *Ib*, iv 323.

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conciliatory; Gregorio Cortese,¹ 1483-†1548, Abbot of San Gregorio Maggiore; Reginald Pole,² 1500-†1558, our fellow-countryman, now in exile and eminent for zeal and piety; Antonio Bruccioli, †1555, the author of a new Italian version of the Scriptures; Marcantonio Flaminio, †1550; and Giovanni Morone,³ Bishop of Modena 1529 and Cardinal 1542-†80.

With the exception of Caraffa, who was a conservative in theology though eager for reform in practice, most of these men displayed some sympathy with evangelical doctrine. There is no evidence of direct connexion between them and the Lutheran movement. But it is certain that the works of the reformers were circulated in Italy at an early period, and read with avidity. Contarini and his friends had no little sympathy with the doctrine of justification by faith; and henceforward "Lutheranism" had its attraction for friends, as well as foes, of the Church in Italy. Clement VII in 1530 denounced it as heresy. But Contarini and his associates were too attached to the Church to deserve the imputation. Moreover, they were able and earnest men, already in high place. So Paul III, 1534-†49, took them under his protection. Recognising the services which they could render, he created six of them Cardinals, 1536-42: Contarini, Caraffa, Sadoletto, Pole, and Morone, with Federigo Fregoso,⁴ a Genoese of noble birth, Bishop of Gubbio, 1529-†41, and a distinguished Orientalist. At the same time he set them to work on a scheme of reform, which appeared in 1538 under the title of *Consilium delectorum cardinalium . . . de emendanda ecclesia*⁵; and then sent Contarini to make a last attempt at reconciliation with the Lutherans at the Colloquy of Ratisbon,⁶ 1541.

§ 4. The *Consilium . . . de emendanda ecclesia* was "a plan for the reform of the Church" drawn up "at the command of the Pope himself." As such, it is "of extreme significance." The authors begin by laying the blame at

¹ *Cath. Enc.*, iv. 400.

² *Ib.*, xii. 201.

³ *Ib.*, x. 575.

⁴ *Ib.*, vi. 263; Pastor, xi. 192 sq.

⁵ Text in Le Plat, *Monumenta Conc. Trid.*, ii. 596-605 (Lovani, 1782); *D.C.R.*, No. 126; C. Mirbt⁴, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Papsttums*, No. 427; and see Ranke, i. 111 sqq.; Pastor, xi. 165 sqq.; *C.M.H.*, ii. 643.

⁶ *D.C.R.*, Nos. 136-40

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the door of former pontiffs whom they accuse of "having heaped to themselves teachers, not as desiring to learn from them what their duties demanded, but rather to procure the declaration that those things were lawful towards which their desires led them." The Pope, according to these teachers, *i.e.* the canonists, was the owner of all benefices. He merely sold what was his own. There could be no simony in that. "And this is the source, Holy Father, from which, as from the Trojan horse, every abuse has broken forth into the Church. The first thing needed is that the laws should be observed; and no dispensations should be granted, save on the ground of strict necessity. But still more important is it that the Vicar of Christ should never consider himself at liberty to use the power of the Keys for gain. This, in general: but now, to come to particular abuses.

"And, first, such as concern the choice of the clergy. (1) Greater care should be taken in the selection of ordinands; for the clergy are held in derision, and respect for divine service is almost dead. (2) Benefices should be bestowed for the good of the flock, and not for the profit of the incumbent. An Italian therefore should not be appointed to a foreign benefice nor a foreigner to an Italian one. (3) Pensions and reservations on appointment or cession, (4) simoniacal compacts on exchange and (5) alienation by bequest, should all be put down. So also should (6) expectations and reservations, (7) the bestowal of benefices incompatible with each other on one and the same person and, in particular, of bishoprics *in commendam* upon Cardinals. The duty of a Cardinal is to assist your Holiness in the government of the Church, and the function of a bishop is to feed his flock. A bishop cannot do that, unless he lives among them. The two offices are incompatible.

"Next, in regard to abuses touching the oversight of the Christian people. An end must be put to (1) the non-residence of bishops and parish priests; (2) the absence of Cardinals from the Curia; (3) exemptions which paralyse the jurisdiction of Ordinaries over their clergy. A thorough (4) reform of Religious Houses is imperative; for many of them are so disreputable as to be a scandal; and (5) care must be taken that their preachers and confessors are fit

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men, and not admitted to their office except after examination by the bishop. We have already urged that the use of the Keys should never be for gain; and this affects not only your Holiness but also your legates and nuncios. For the avoidance of scandal (6) the oversight of Religious Houses of women should be entrusted no longer to monks and friars but to the Ordinaries: who should (7) protect places of learning, especially in Italy, from unbelieving teachers, control the press, and not suffer books like the *Colloquies* of Erasmus which make fun of religion to get into the hands of boys at school.

"Abuses of a third class arise in connexion with grants by the authority of your Holiness. No dispensation should be given (1) to apostate monks and friars to give up their habit; (2) to sellers of indulgences to deceive the simple with their superstitions; (3) to clerics to marry; (4) to others to take a wife within the prohibited degrees; (5) to clerics guilty of simony by purchase of a benefice first to obtain absolution for the offence and then to retain the preferment; or (6) to alienate by will the goods of their churches; and (7) an end must be put to abuses connected with confessional letters, portable altars, indulgences, commutation of vows, and alteration of wills.

"Finally, there are abuses affecting your Holiness as Bishop of Rome itself—the slovenly and ignorant priests, even at St Peter's; the prostitutes, walking the streets at midday, attended by clerics and members of Cardinals' households—the like of which is never seen in any other city. And provision should be made to put down private faction, and for the due care of almshouses, wards, and widows.

"Such are the results, Holy Father, of our humble enquiries: and these are the things which, in our opinion, should be reformed."

It is a sharp indictment: and as evidence the more valuable as coming not from the Protestants but from friends. It was not without effect in a series of reforming commissions¹ under Paul III; and ultimately it bore fruit in the reforms carried out by the Council of Trent. But for the moment it came to nothing. "It was decided . . . not to publish the report, as it revealed so many grave

¹ For details, see Pastor, xi. 173 sqq.

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scandals in connexion with the Holy See. The document was, however, privately printed in Rome, and by some means a copy reached Germany. It was republished there with scoffing comments,"¹ as if no papal attempts at reform could be seriously intended.

§ 5. *New Religious Orders*² began to appear about the same time as the *Oratory of Divine Love*. They were a second sign of the revival; and obtained recognition before the Cardinals presented their *Consilium*. Two of them were new only in the sense that they were the fruit of a new spirit, revivifying Orders already in existence. But others—Theatins, Somaschi, Barnabites and Oratorians—were new foundations altogether. So too were the Jesuits: but they demand a chapter to themselves.

To 1522 then belongs the refounding of the Camaldolese.³ They were originally an Order of reformed Benedictines, founded in 1012 by St Romuald, †1027, on a site presented to him by his friend Count Maldolus, and called Camaldoli—*In campo Maldoli*—in the Apennines, about thirty miles east of Florence. At first, they were hermits; but they relaxed their rule, and had come to live in community. In 1522 the Venetian Paolo Guistiniani revived it: and lived as a hermit first at Paselupo in the Apennines and afterwards near Massaccio, between Ancona and Camerino. Caraffa recommended him to Pope Adrian VI, who gave him privileges; while Clement VII assigned him a church. Guistiniani died in 1528; but, under his second successor, Guistiniani of Bergamo, the Order established itself also at Monte Corona, near Perugia. The Camaldolese, at the height of their prosperity, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, numbered about two thousand. They were associated in five congregations: of Hermits, at Camaldoli and Monte Corona; and of Cœnobites at Murano, an island of the lagoons about a mile and a half to the north of Venice, at Turin and in France. Monte Corona itself had twenty-eight dependent houses; five in Poland, two in

¹ *C M H.*, ii. 643

² H. Helyot, *Ordres monastiques* (8 vols, Paris, 1714-19); M. Heimbucher, *Die Orden und Kongregationen der Katholische Kirche* (2 vols., Paderborn, 1896-7); Ranke, *Popes*, i. 128 sqq.; Philippson, 18 sqq.; *C M H.*, ii. 647.

³ Heimbucher, i. 203 sqq. Pastor, x. 454 sqq., *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 204.

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Germany, one in Austria, and as many as twenty in Italy. But on the world at large, because of their enclosure, they exerted comparatively little influence. Nevertheless, the Camaldolese have the credit of embodying the first fruits of the revival.

In strong contrast with them, came next the Theatins;¹ confirmed on 29 June 1524 by Clement VII. Gaetano di Tiene, 1480-†1547, who originated the idea of this Order, was a noble of Vicenza. He had been made Protonotary Apostolic in 1505 by Julius II. But he quitted this lucrative post at the papal court in order to transplant the spirit of the *Oratory of Divine Love* to his native city, 1518; to Verona, 1519; and to Venice, 1521-3. Then he came to concentrate his thoughts on the degradation of the secular clergy; for in this he saw a principal cause of the decadence of religion. He conceived the idea of forming a community not of monks but of secular priests. They were thus to be Clerks Regular; living together under the three vows, but saying Office and ministering the Sacrament to the faithful like ordinary priests. But St Gaetano was hardly the man to carry out his project by himself. He was too unworldly. Fortunately, in Gian Pietro Caraffa,² 1476-†1559, who was Bishop of Chieti 1505-24 and Archbishop of Brindisi 1518-24, he found the man to put his ideas into effect. Caraffa was an orthodox zealot, and an ardent reformer. In 1524, he resigned his two sees; and joined Gaetano as co-founder of the Order of Theatins, so called after the first of them, Chieti (Teate). "Thus there ripened in the conversations of Caraffa and Gaetano, to which some other friends, such as Bonifazio da Colle of Alessandria and the Roman Paolo Consiglieri had been admitted, the plan of substituting for the *Oratory* a special foundation with fixed rules and a life in community consisting of regular clerics in immediate dependence upon the Holy See." They took their vows at St Peter's, 14 September 1524, with Caraffa as their Superior. In 1525 they established themselves on the Monte Pincio. In token of their purpose, they wore the cassock and biretta of an ordinary priest. But three things were characteristic of them. They united

¹ Heimbucher, II. 247 sqq; Pastor, x. 397 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 557.

² Pastor, x. 402 sqq

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literal poverty with aristocratic connexions; for, as they might not even beg alms for their support, none but the noble and rich could join them. They set themselves to reform the lives of the secular clergy; and so became a nursery of bishops. Their ideal—to live in community and work for the world—was the model which they bequeathed to the Jesuits. In this last characteristic, Gaetano lived on in after time; and in the two former was incarnated the spirit of Caraffa. Their sphere of action, in the main, was Italy: but they were also found in Spain, Portugal, Poland, Bavaria and at Paris. Thomas Goldwell, a familiar of Cardinal Pole, who was Bishop of St Asaph 1555-9, became their Superior at Naples, 1561. He was the only English bishop at the Council of Trent; and the last survivor, †1585, of the Marian hierarchy; while men of greater distinction among them were the learned liturgiologist Cardinal Tommasi, 1649-†1713,¹ and Lorenzo Scupoli, 1530-†1610, the author of *The Spiritual Combat*.

The Capuchins,² or reformed Franciscans, came next in order; and developed a genius of their own in pointed contrast to that of the Theatins. In 1525 a Friar Observant, Matteo da Bascio, 1495-†1552, returned to the observances of St Francis, 1182-†1226; and adopted as the outward sign of his stricter allegiance the pointed hood, or capuce, of St Francis which his followers had exchanged for a rounded hood. With the approval of Clement VII, 3 July 1528, Matteo and his companions established themselves near Camerino. But they met with much opposition from the jealousy of the Observants. They found a champion and protectress, however, in Vittoria Colonna,³ 1490-†1547, Duchess of Amalfi and wife of the Marquis of Pescara, the victor of Pavia, 1525. Paul III, at length, confirmed their privileges in a bull of 25 August 1536. In it, "he placed the Capuchins under the jurisdiction of the Master General of the Conventuals, thus exempting them from the jurisdiction of [their enemies] the Observants."⁴ But their

¹ See *The Reformed Breviary of Cardinal Tommasi*: ed. Dr J. Wickham Legg (S.P.C.K., 1904) for the Church Historical Society, No. lxxx.

² Fr. Cuthbert, O.S.F.C., *The Capuchins* (2 vols., Sheed & Ward, 1928); Heimbucher, i. 315 sqq.; Pastor, x. 457 sqq.; xl. 530 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 320

³ *Cath. Enc.*, iv. 128.

⁴ Fr. Cuthbert, i. lxi.

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Vicar-General continued, till 1619, under the control of the General of the Conventuals; nor did they attain their independence till then. Nevertheless, they held to their customs—the pointed hood, the long beard, and to go barefoot. By their self-devotion during a visitation of the plague, 1528–9; by their zeal as popular, telling, but not over-refined preachers; and by their reputation as exorcists, they won their way. In their aim—to live in the world and to serve it without being slaves to it—they reproduced the spirit of the Theatins, and showed themselves true sons of the revival. But in their general character, they presented a striking contrast. They were the offspring and the servants of the Italian populace: and, democratic in spirit, they became the chief agents in keeping the masses loyal to the Church. Most typical of their genius was Bernardino Ochino,¹ 1487–†1564, their third Vicar-General, 1538–42, but for his ultimate apostasy.² First among popular preachers of his day, he became infected with reforming doctrines; and fled first to Geneva, 1542: thence to Augsburg 1545: and, shortly afterwards, to Basel, 1547. The fear of the *Interim* drove him to England; where, 9 May 1548, Cranmer made him a prebendary of Canterbury. On the accession of Mary, he returned to Basel, and became pastor at Zürich. But in 1563 he was expelled, as a Unitarian, to Poland. Thence too he was banished, 6 August 1564, and died at Slakow in Moravia toward the end of the same year. But the Order had long ago recovered from the shock of his desertion.³ They rallied multitudes to religion; and established themselves throughout the allegiance of the Holy See.⁴ Within a hundred years of their foundation, at the time when they became an independent Order, 1619, they had 1500 convents, organised in 50 provinces. By the time of the French Revolution, these had increased to 64 provinces, with as many as 31,000 members of the Order. In 1906, they had 731 houses, 9970 friars, distributed among 56 provinces. Fr. Matthew, 1790–†1856, the celebrated apostle of temperance in Ireland, was a Capuchin.

¹ *D.N.B.*, xli. 350 sqq. He was born at Siena, in the Via del' Oca (Goose-St): whence his name. and he entered the Order, 1534.

² Fr. Cuthbert, i. 121 sqq.

³ *Ib.*, i. 148 sqq.

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 196 sqq.

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Three other Orders of Clerks Regular followed in the wake of the Theatins.

In 1532, the Paulines,¹ or Clerks Regular of St Paul, were founded by Antonio Maria Zaccaria, a doctor of Cremona; with Bartolommeo Ferrari, a lawyer, and Giacomo Antonio Morigia, a mathematician—both of Milan. They obtained the approval of Clement VII, 18 February 1533, which was confirmed in 1535 by Paul III. In 1545 they took the name of Barnabites, from the church of St Barnabas in Milan which had been made over to them. Here they proposed to themselves the same end as the Theatins, being a "Society of Clerks Regular, devoted to the instruction of the young and the cure of souls."² But they differed from them in method: making use, as they did, of open-air missions, in Verona, Vicenza, Padua, and Venice. They may thus be regarded as the democratic wing of the Theatins. They spread through Italy; and were of especial service to St Charles Borromeo, Archbishop of Milan, 1560-†84, in the reformation of his diocese. The Barnabites now have their headquarters in Rome, with about thirty houses in all: of which twenty are in Italy, six in what was Austria, one in France and one in Belgium. The liturgiologist Bartolommeo Gavanti, †1638, was a Barnabite, and General of his Order.

About the same time as the Barnabites, there arose the Somaschi³: an association confirmed, 5 July 1540, by Paul III and raised to the rank of an Order, 1568, by Pius V. They owe their name to Somasca, a village near Bergamo; where, in 1528, a Venetian nobleman, Girolamo Miani⁴ 1481-†1537, appalled by the misery consequent upon the wars in Italy, consecrated himself to the care of waifs and strays. The efforts of himself and his companions were confined, at first, to northern Italy: where he had hospitals in Venice, near the church of St Rocco; in Verona 1531; Como; and Milan. In 1547 the association became affiliated to the Theatins. As an Order, it was organised under Alexander VII, 1655-†67, in the three provinces of

¹ Heimbucher, ii. 256 sqq.; Pastor, x. 450 sqq.; xi. 521 sqq.; and s.v. "Barnabites" in *Cath. Enc.*, ii. 302.

² Pastor, x. 451.

³ Heimbucher, ii. 259 sqq.; Pastor, x. 448 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 140.

⁴ Otherwise St Jerome Emiliani: see *Cath. Enc.*, viii. 343.

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Lombardy, Venetia and Rome: while a fourth was added, later on, in France. At the time of the French Revolution, the Somaschi possessed as many as 119 convents. They have now 3 provinces (Rome, Lombardy and Liguria), 16 houses and about 180 members.

Equally modest in their beginnings were the labours of St Philip Neri, 1515-†95, the founder of the Oratorians.¹ Born at Florence, 21 July 1515, he went to Rome, 1533, and established there, 1548, the brotherhood of the Holy Trinity for the care of pilgrims. In 1551 he was ordained priest; and began to gather students and younger clergy together, at first in his own rooms, for conferences and music. In music, he had the assistance of Giovanni Pierluigi da Palestrina,² †1594, who was master of the papal choir and one of the greatest musicians of all time. Philip's prayer-meetings, graced by Palestrina's music, gave rise to the Oratorio; and in 1564 they ripened into the Congregation of the Oratory.³ Authorised by Gregory XIII in 1575, it was confirmed by him in 1583, and received its constitution from Paul V in 1612. By that time, the Oratorians had not only raised the whole tone of the Roman clergy, but had become famous for their learning. Cæsar Baronius,⁴ †1607, author of the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, which in twelve volumes carried the history of the Church down to A.D. 1198, countered the Protestant version of it given by the Magdeburg Centuriators, 1559-74. His continuator Raynaldus⁵ (Odorico Rinaldi, †1561), who carried on the work in nine volumes down to his own time, was also an Oratorian. So also was Morinus⁶ (Jean Morin, 1591-†1659). In his *Commentarius de sacris ecclesiae ordinibus* (Paris, 1655) he was the first to show that the ceremony of the *porrectio instrumentorum*, instead of being, as Eugenius IV had laid down in his *Decretum ad Armenos*⁷ of 1439, the "matter" of Ordination to the priesthood with "Accipe potestatem offerendi sacrificium" as its "form," had been unknown for the first thousand years of the Church's history; and

¹ Heimbucher, II 341 sqq.; Ranke, *Popes*, I, 383; Pastor, xix. 161-96; *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 18-21; and *St Philip Néri*, par L. Ponnelle and L. Bordet (Paris, 1928).

² *Cath. Enc.*, xi 421 sqq.

⁵ *Ib.*, xii. 672.

³ *Ib.*, xi 272 sqq.

⁶ *Ib.*, x. 570.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii 304 sqq.

⁷ Murbt⁴, No. 401.

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that, as "only that could be essential which had been the practice both in East and West,"¹ all that was necessary is the laying on of hands with appropriate prayer. Gian Domenico Mansi, Archbishop of Lucca 1765-†9, carried on, as compiler of the *Concilia*,² these great traditions of erudition. In our own day, Cardinal Newman,³ 1801-†90, added fresh lustre to the Oratorians. Speedily establishing themselves, after their founder's death, in Italy where they had 100 houses, in France 8, in Spain 21, in Portugal 8, they passed over to the Spanish and Portuguese colonies in South America and Ceylon; and, since 1847, have become familiar in our own country.

§ 6. *Orders of women* also grew up concurrently with Orders of men.

In 1538 Maria Laurentia Longo, †1542, instituted the Capucines⁴ at Naples; and framed their rule upon the model of the Poor Clares,⁵ which St Clare,⁶ †1253, had received from St Francis in 1224.

In 1544 Paul III confirmed the well-known Order of Ursulines.⁷ They had been founded, 1535, by Angela Merici,⁸ 1474-†1540, of Brescia: for the care of the sick, and for teaching young girls. It was the first teaching Order of women established in the Church: and, in 1900, had 100 communities, in 8 provinces: besides many large and important communities which retain their independence.

Again, in 1562, St Teresa,⁹ 1515-†82, became the foundress of the Discalced Carmelites,¹⁰ in order to recall the Carmelite nuns to the ideals of their earlier days: as her friend, St Peter of Alcantara,¹¹ 1499-†1562, had attempted to revive the devotion of the Franciscans by founding, in 1555, the Order of the Barefooted Friars.¹² Both Orders received the approval of Pius IV: the Friars in February 1562

¹ C. Gore, *The Church and the Ministry* (1919), 57, n. 1.

² *Cath. Enc.*, ix. 609. ³ *Ib.*, x. 794 sqq.

⁴ Heimbucher, i. 361; *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 320.

⁵ Heimbucher, 353 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 251.

⁶ *Cath. Enc.* iv. 4. ⁷ *Ib.*, xv. 228.

⁸ Heimbucher, i. 511 sqq.; Pastor, xi. 525 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, i. 481.

⁹ *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 515.

¹⁰ Heimbucher, ii. 13; Pastor, xvii. 277; xix. 129 sqq., *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 361, 367.

¹¹ *Cath. Enc.*, xi. 770.

¹² Heimbucher, i. 312; Pastor, xvii. 275 sq.; *Cath. Enc.*, v. 28; s.v. "Discalced," and vi. 288.

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and the nuns in July 1565. Their founders drew their inspiration from the soil of Spanish mysticism, and fructified it in their turn: St Peter by his "golden book" on *Prayer and Meditation*, 1560: and St Teresa by the history of her *inner Life*, written 1563-6.

Not less fruitful in the service of religion were the preaching of St John of Avila,¹ 1500-†69, the Apostle of Andalusia and the good works of his Portuguese convert, St John of God² 1495-†1550. The latter, converted upon a sudden escape from death, resolved to give his life to the care of the sick poor. For ten years, 1540-50, he nursed and tended them in a hospital which he founded at Granada, under the patronage of the archbishop: and, though he left no organisation behind him, his example was contagious. It led to the founding of the Brethren of Charity,³ 1534, "the most important of the Orders of men devoted to the care of the sick." They were constituted an Order in 1572 by Pius V, under the Augustinian rule.

Such was the revival of religion exhibited in the new, or newly reformed, Religious Orders. Most influential of them all were the Jesuits: whose origin and rapid extension we have now to describe.

¹ Pastor, xi. 528 sq.; *Cath. Enc.*, viii. 469.

² Heimbucher, i. 492; Pastor, xi. 529 sq.; *Cath. Enc.*, viii. 472.

³ Heimbucher, i. 491 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 602.

CHAPTER II

THE JÉSUIITS: TO THE DEATH OF THEIR FOUNDER, 1556

THE new Orders which sprang up in Italy did much for the revival of religion: but they were eclipsed by the Company of Jesus¹ which owed its origin to Spain.

§ 1. *Spain*, at the opening of the sixteenth century, still retained the spirit of the Crusades. Elsewhere, the union of mysticism and chivalry, which they inspired, had disappeared; but in Spain it was still alive. Old wars and new worlds kept it in vigour. The war with the Moors had come to an end in 1492 with the capitulation of Granada, when the Moors were promised freedom of worship and education. But attempts were made to induce them to accept Christianity; and rather than yield they broke out into revolt until in 1502 they were offered the choice of baptism or exile. Wars like these were wars of religion: and kept the crusading spirit alive. So also did the discovery of new worlds. In 1492 Columbus² reached Cuba and Hispaniola; while in 1519 Cortes³ invaded Mexico and in 1532 Pizarro⁴ began the conquest of Peru. These Spanish territories in America were lands for the ardour of crusaders to win. The same is true of contemporary Portuguese settlements, whether in Brazil 1500 or in the Far East. For on Christmas Day 1497 Vasco da Gama⁵ discovered Natal, and thence crossed the Indian Ocean to Calicut. With the capture of Goa 1510 and of Malacca 1511 arose their Empire in the East Indies. As if to give scope to this spirit of adventure, Alexander VI, by his bull *Inter caetera divinae*⁶ of 4 May

¹ Heimbucher, ii. 34 sqq.; Ranke, *Popes*, i. 135 sqq.; Pastor, *Popes*, xii. 1 sqq.; Philippon, cc. ii.-iv.; *C.M.H.*, ii. 651 sqq.; *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (s.v. "Jesuits," by Fr Thurston, S.J.), vii. 501 sqq.; H Boehmer, *Les Jésuites* (tr. G. Monod, Paris, 1910); *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 81 sqq.

² *Cath. Enc.*, iv. 140.

⁴ *Ib.*, xii. 140.

⁶ *Mirbt*⁴, No. 410.

³ *Ib.*, 397.

⁵ *Ib.*, vi. 374.

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1493, divided the new worlds yet to be discovered by Spain from those of Portugal. He purposed that "the Catholic Faith and the Christian Religion should have free course, the salvation of souls be secured and barbarous nations be subdued and taught." Thus everything conspired to enlist the skill of Spanish captains and the valorous spirit of the nation in the cause of the Church, and to unite a zeal for the furtherance of the Christian religion with the renown of the Spanish name. The romances of chivalry, such as *Amadis of Gaul*, 1492-1508, continued to be read. They fostered the old ardour; and notably in a young captain of Charles V, by name Don Inigo de Onez y Loyola, 1491-†1556.

§ 2. *Ignatius*¹ was born, 1491, at the castle of Loyola in the Basque province of Guipuzcoa. He was the youngest son of a noble family, and became one of the pages of Ferdinand the Catholic, 1479-†1516. Like the true knight, he had an ambition for high deeds: and in the first war, 1521-3, between Charles V and Francis I, when the French attacked Navarre he was serving in the defence of Pampeluna. A wound in the leg, 19 May 1521, led to a long illness; and, though he asked for the romances of chivalry to while away the time, he had to be content with the *Life of Christ*, by the Carthusian Ludolph of Saxony, and the *Flowers of the Saints*. He became deeply interested. On his recovery, he found himself permanently lame: and recognising that he would never again be fit for deeds of arms, he resolved upon a spiritual knighthood and vowed himself to the service of Christ and His Church.

In March 1522 he left home, on a pilgrimage to the miraculous image of our Lady in the monastery of Montserrat near Barcelona: and thence he retired to a cavern near Manresa, while awaiting the opportunity to embark for the Holy Land. There he spent ten months: and "it was during his stay that he drew out at least the broad outlines of that manual of ascetical discipline so widely famed under the name of the *Book of the Spiritual Exercises*."² There

¹ Fr Thurston, S.J., in *E.R.E.*, viii. 188 sqq; *Enc Brit.*¹¹, xvii. 80 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, vii. 639 sqq.; Ranke, *Popes*, i. 135 sqq.; *C.M.H.*, ii. 651 sqq.; Pastor, xii. 1 sqq.

² *E.R.E.*, viii. 188.

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also he passed through a spiritual crisis, not unlike that of Luther some fifteen years before. It was the same problem for both, a perfect reconciliation with God and with self. Both, at first, tried the same means, in rigorous self-discipline; and both failed to find peace in this way. The German theologian found it, at last, in a doctrine of justification by faith apart from works: for which he drew support from the Scriptures. The Spanish mystic found it in his power to distinguish, with absolute certainty, between the impulses of God and the devil. He required no aid from Scripture. By his visions he was sure of God. "He thought to himself," says Lainez his successor, "that, even if no Scriptures had been given us to teach us the truths of faith, he would nevertheless have determined to give up life itself for them, solely on account of what he had seen with the soul."¹

When the ten months at Manresa were over, he set out for Jerusalem, February 1523, to do battle with the infidel. Travelling overland, he found himself in Rome on Palm Sunday, 29 March, when he received the blessing of Pope Adrian VI. Then he went, 14 July, to Venice; and, in September, arrived at Jerusalem. But his plans there were frustrated; and he was obliged to return, through Venice January 1524, to Spain. He arrived in Barcelona, March 1524.

"That he was specially called to labour *ad maiorem Dei gloriam*, according to the later motto of the Jesuits, had by this time become a deep conviction; but the precise manner in which he was to further the work of Christ on earth does not seem to have been made clear to him until many years later. Still, he seems to have realised that to become an efficient instrument for good, he required a better education than he then possessed."² So we next "find him, at the age of thirty-three, learning the rudiments of Latin with the school-children of Barcelona, 1524-6; and thence proceeding to the Universities of Alcalá and Salamanca."³ At the same time he preached in the streets: and in 1527 was twice imprisoned by the Inquisition as one of the *Alumbrados* or *Illuminati*. To escape its attentions, as well as for further study, he transferred himself to the University of Paris.

¹ Pastor, xii. 8

² E.R.E., viii. 189

³ *Ib.*

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He arrived in Paris, 2 Feb. 1528; and for seven years he pursued his studies first at the Collège de Montaigu and afterwards at the Collège de Ste Barbe. In Paris "he must, at least occasionally, have encountered Calvin who had studied there himself and still visited it in 1533." But Calvin was a fugitive at that time: and Ignatius held on to gather round him men who afterwards became the first members of his Order. There was first the Savoyard Pierre Lefèvre (Faber) 1506-†46, whose room he shared at Ste Barbe while maintaining himself with the alms that he received from Isabella Roser, a lady of wealth and piety, or begged on journeys made during vacations, to London 1530 and to Bruges and Antwerp. Then four of his fellow-countrymen: Francis Xavier, 1506-†52, of Pampeluna; Diego Lainez, 1512-†65, of Almanza; Alfonso Salmeron, 1515-†85, of Toledo; and Nicholas Alfonso †1590, of Bobadilla, usually known by the name of his birthplace. Sixth came the Portuguese, Simon Rodriguez, of Azevedo. Then two Frenchmen, Paschasius Brouet †1562, of Brétancourt, near Amiens, and Jean Codure †1541, of Embrun in Dauphiné. And, last, another Savoyard, Claude Le Jay, 1505-†52. They were ten in all: including Ignatius himself. On the Feast of the Assumption, 15 August 1534, all except the last three attended the mass of Lefèvre in the chapel of St Denys belonging to some Benedictine nuns on Montmartre: and took vows of poverty, chastity and either a crusade in Palestine or if that should prove to be impossible, of absolute obedience to the Pope.

In 1535, they left Paris for Italy: Ignatius by himself: and then Xavier with the remaining eight. By 1537, they were all in Venice: where Ignatius with five others was ordained priest on 24 June. It now appeared, by the outbreak of war between the Turks and the Republic, that a passage to the East was impossible: but they waited yet longer, in order to see whether, even yet, it was not God's will that they should go. Meanwhile, Ignatius fell in with Caraffa, and quarrelled with him. But he borrowed from the Theatins the idea of establishing a Society of Clerks Regular: and so was advanced a stage further in shaping the form which his service should take. In the autumn of 1537 he and his associates separated by consent. They were to

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make their way to Rome: each for himself, but all as members of the *Company of Jesus*, to receive their marching orders from the Vicar of Christ.

By November 1537, they met in Rome. But their position was not without difficulty. One of their innovations "was preaching after Easter: it was not customary in Rome to have sermons, except during Advent and Lent. . . . Many now began to go to confession, and to communicate frequently. This practice had almost become obsolete in many places in Italy: if a man went every eight days to the Lord's Table, he became the town's talk; he was spoken of in letters to friends as a strange novelty."¹ But Ignatius looked upon weekly communion as the sign of a genuine Catholic:² and so taught openly in Rome at this time. The Pope, Paul III, with his usual insight, favoured Ignatius and his fellows. Here was a body of men, devout and zealous, offering themselves unconditionally to his service, at the very moment when from every side he had to face nothing but "opposition" and "defection."³ He made two of them professors in the Sapienza: appointing Lefèvre to lecture on Holy Scripture and Lainez to teach the scholastic philosophy. But from March to November they had to encounter suspicions and accusations everywhere: whether from ill-will between Spaniards and Italians or from the conservatism of men in high place. Ignatius, however, insisted on an enquiry. It was necessary for their good name and the future of their work: and, 18 Nov. 1538, they were completely exonerated by a definitive sentence. On Christmas Day, Ignatius was able to say his first mass in peace at Sta Maria Maggiore: and the devotion of himself and his companions to the service of the poor during the winter of 1538-9 won them friends on every side.

It was now time to constitute themselves an Order; and, after three months of prayer and penitential exercises, they resolved to add to the two vows of poverty and chastity which they had taken at Venice, two more: of obedience to their General and of absolute submission to the Pope. To Ignatius was assigned the task of drafting a constitution:

¹ Pastor, xii. 28

² *Regulae ad sentiendum cum ecclesia*, No. 2; Murbt⁴, No 433.

³ Ranke, *Popes*, i 147.

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while Cardinal Contarini undertook to recommend it to Paul III. On 3 Sept. 1539, he writes:—"To-day, I read aloud to the Pope all the five heads. Paul III was much pleased with them, and confirmed them with expressions of strong approval." "There," said he, "is the finger of God":¹ and, after some opposition, the papal confirmation was published to the world, 27 September 1540, in a bull with the significant and prophetic opening—*Regimini militantis ecclesiae*.²

After recording, § 1, the names of Ignatius and his companions and, § 2, the fact of their arrival in Rome, the bull, § 3, proceeds, §§ 4-13, to recite their articles of association. "Whosoever, § 4, desires, as a member of our Society, which we wish to be known by the name of Jesus, to become a soldier of God under the banner of the Cross and to serve His Vicar, the Roman Pontiff, must vow himself to perpetual chastity and make it his aim to be one of a Society founded to concern itself above all for the advancement of souls in Christian life and doctrine, for the propagation of the faith by public preaching, spiritual exercises and works of charity, and in particular for the Christian education of the young and the unlearned, as well as for the hearing of confessions. Lest, however, his zeal should outrun his discretion, he must be prepared to do this under the direction of the General, to be elected by us. The General, § 5, is to have power, with the consent of his associates, to make *Constitutions*. All the associates, § 6, abandoning each his own will, consider ourselves bound by a special vow to the present Pope and his successors to go, without demur, to any country whither they may send us, whether to the Turk or other infidels, in India or elsewhere, to any heretics or schismatics, as well as to the faithful, subject only, § 7, to the will of the Pope and the General. Each is to promise, § 8, obedience to the General; § 9, in all humility: and each and all, § 10, to live under the rule of poverty: though in the Universities, § 11, our Colleges may possess property. Those of us who are in Holy Orders, § 12, are to say their office privately and not in common: and no one, § 13, is to be admitted to our Society except after long and careful probation." "All this," said the Pope, § 14, "we approve

¹ Pastor, xii 33.

² Mirbt⁴, No 430

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and confirm by our apostolic authority: but, § 16, we limit the Society to sixty members." Within a few years, the limit was removed by *Injunctum nobis* of 14 March 1544: and, meanwhile, Ignatius was elected General on 7 April 1541. He held office till his death, 31 July 1556: and, though "not in any way a man of brilliant intellectual gifts," yet by his "clear judgment and indomitable energy," his "fearlessness" and "straightforwardness,"¹ he gave the *Company of Jesus* a place without rival in the recovery of true religion.

§ 3. *The progress of the Society*,² to the death of its founder, must next engage our attention.

(i) It was chiefly among the nations of Latin Europe.

Thus, in North-Italy, Lainez and Lefèvre worked successfully at Parma. They roused a storm there, the principal cause of offence being their insistence on frequent Communion.³ But the support of the Farnese carried them through. Thence Lainez proceeded to stem the tide of error at Venice. Here he lectured on the Gospel according to St John:⁴ and was befriended by Andrea Lippomano,⁵ a patrician who gave them a home in the Priory of the Teutonic Order at Padua. They established, out of its funds, two houses of students, one at Padua and the other at Venice: and in Padua they began to exercise an influence in the University. In 1544, Lainez was at Brescia:⁶ while Salmeron was invited to Verona, by its bishop, Luigi Lippomano, and preached sermons on Sundays from the Epistle to the Romans.⁷ They made a great impression: and similarly at Belluno, whither he was invited 1549 by its bishop, Giulio Contarini, sermons, hitherto unattended, were now thronged: and Lutheran books burned.⁸

In Central Italy, Brouet recovered Foligno, 1542-3: while Lefèvre and Lainez won back Piacenza. At Modena,⁹ by the invitation of its bishop, Cardinal Morone, 1543, Salmeron restored the old religion. In the same year, at Montepulciano, near Siena, in company with Francesco Strada, he had like success: while at Faenza,¹⁰ by Ravenna,

¹ *E.R.E.*, viii. 190.

² Hembucher, ii. 70 sqq.; Ranke, *Popes*, i. 164 sqq.; *Cath Enc*, xiv. 86.

³ Pastor, xii. 87 sqq.

⁶ Boehmer, 57.

⁹ *Ib.*, 84

⁴ *Ib.*, 84.

⁷ Pastor, xii. 84

¹⁰ *Ib.*

⁵ *Ib.*, 83.

⁸ *Ib.*, 85.

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Brouet completely eradicated, 1543-5, the Lutheranism introduced there by Bernardino Ochino, the renegade Vicar-General of the Capuchins. At Ferrara,¹ 1547, Le Jay was no less active in counteracting the influence of Renée, Duchess of Ferrara and patroness of Calvinism in Italy. In 1546 the Society had a college at Bologna. At Florence,² in 1548, Lainez occupied the pulpit of the Duomo during Lent, and preached to congregations of eight or nine thousand people: and the Society established a college there in 1551.

In Lower Italy they were received with favour and gifts, by the Neapolitan nobles: and spread rapidly, 1547-9, over the Kingdom of Naples and Sicily.³ Colleges were set up at Messina, 1548, and Palermo, 1549. "The whole of Sicily," wrote Canisius, "is in the grip of a moral reformation."⁴

At Rome itself, Loyola established, in 1550, the *Collegium Romanum*, which seven years later was removed to the site of the well-known *Gesu*. By 1555, it had already sent out into the world as many as a hundred students. By 1584, it had no less than 2108.⁵ Side by side with it, was established, by a bull of Julius III, dated 31 August 1552, the *Collegium Germanicum*:⁶ which became the centre for training missionaries to the Protestants of Germany, and also the model of the seminaries afterwards set up in many dioceses by the Council of Trent. At the opening of the eighteenth century the Order had so grown as to possess 769 collegiate and university establishments, with as many as 200,000 students.

In Spain,⁷ the native land of Ignatius, there grew up during his life-time three provinces of his Order: with colleges at Salamanca 1548, Valencia 1544, Alcala 1546, Burgos 1550, Valladolid 1545, Gandia 1545, Barcelona 1545, and Saragossa.⁸ At first, however, it was less successful there than might have been expected; though nearly three-fourths of its members, during the first decade of its existence, were Spaniards by birth. But this was due to several assignable causes.⁹ Thus, Ignatius was unwilling to give

¹ Pastor, xii. 86.

² *Ib.*, 87.

³ *Ib.*, 89 *sqq.*

⁴ *Ib.*, 91

⁵ *E.R.E.*, vii. 504

⁶ Pastor, xiii. 229

⁷ *Ib.*, 91 *sqq.*, xiii. 185 *sqq.*, Boehmer, 87.

⁸ Heimbucher ii. 73.

⁹ "L'Espagne dut être conquise pied à pied. Trois puissances s'opposaient à la marche victorieuse des Jésuites: la royauté espagnole, le haut clergé, les Dominicains." Boehmer, 87.

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his Order too national a tinge. Again, great reforms had already been carried out in Spain by Francisco de Cisneros Archbishop of Toledo 1495-†1517, better known as Cardinal Ximenes; by the Spanish Inquisition; and by the religious zeal of the Spanish people. Further, no little opposition had to be reckoned with, 1548, from the Dominicans, then in possession of the Universities and of the Inquisition. It was well led by their distinguished theologian, Melchior Cano, Professor of Divinity at Salamanca 1546-†60. It was supported by the opposition of the hierarchy, under the Primate Juan Martinez Siliceo,¹ Archbishop of Toledo 1546-†57. They knew too that the Crown was on their side; for the Sovereign was Supreme Head in Spain, and would have no love for the Pope's minions. But, before long, the nation showed itself more favourable than its official chiefs. The spirit of the Order and of the people were akin. Antonio Araoz, the cousin of St Ignatius, was the first to establish the kinship. In Madrid, "he defended earnestly the practice of frequent communion, which many at that time regarded as unpermissible, and stigmatised as a Jesuit invention."² But he aroused great enthusiasm in Castile, Catalonia and the Basque provinces. In 1547 Araoz became the first Provincial in Spain: and through him Francesco Borgia, 1510-†72, joined the Order, 1 February 1548. He was then Duke of Gandia, and Viceroy of Catalonia: and afterwards became the third General of the Order, 1565. About the same time, the Universities began to feel the impact of the Order: for the unlettered Francesco Villanueva made a great impression upon Alcala by his preaching; and Salamanca, in spite of the opposition led by its professor, Melchior Cano, became in 1548 the seat of a Jesuit College. Other such colleges were established at Valladolid, Valencia, Gandia, Barcelona, and Alcala.³

In Portugal,⁴ the progress of the Order was more rapid. John III, who was King of Portugal 1521-†57, extended a ready welcome to two of his subjects whom the General sent, 1540, as emissaries to their fellow-countrymen—Francis Xavier and Simon Rodriguez. The latter won great influence at Court. He was entrusted with the educa-

¹ Pastor, xii 93 *sqq.*; xiii. 188 *sqq.* ² *Ib.*, xii 92. ³ *Ib.*, 93.

⁴ *Ib.*, 98 *sqq.*; xiii. 189 *sqq.*; Boehmer, 85 *sqq.*

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tion of the heir to the Crown, who afterwards ruled as King Sebastian from 1557-†78: and John III founded a College at Coimbra with two hundred students. But more famous is the work of St Francis Xavier.¹ He left Rome, 16 March 1540, and arrived in Lisbon on 30th May. The King then sent him to the Portuguese possessions in India: where he reached Goa, 6 May 1542. Here he made a memorable stand against the avarice and immorality of Portuguese officials in the colony; and, after years of labour, wrote to King John, 20 January 1548, urging the support of missionary enterprise by the State. "Let the King, under oath make it clear in his Letters Patent for the appointment of Governors that he requires them to make as many converts as possible within their jurisdictions, subject to his severe displeasure on their return home; and within a year the whole of the island of Ceylon, many chiefs of the Malabar coast and the entire promontory of Cape Comorin will have become Christian."² Next year, St Francis was appointed Provincial; but he did not wait to see his policy carried out. He passed over to Malacca; and left it, 24 June 1549, for Japan, where he landed on 15 August. After preaching in those far-off regions, he died in China 27 Nov. 1552.³ Meanwhile, the Society sent missions⁴ to Portuguese possessions in other continents than Asia: to the Congo⁵ in 1548; to Brazil⁶ in 1549: and to Abyssinia,⁷ 1559.

Last of the Latin countries to be mentioned is France;⁸ where, at first, the Jesuits had little success. In 1540, St Ignatius sent some of the younger members of the Order to Paris, but only as students. The Society appears to have been regarded as an essentially Spanish affair. It was favoured by Henry II, 1547-†59; protected by Guillaume du Prat, Bishop of Clermont, who gave them the Collège du Clermont at Paris, 1550; and supported by Charles Guise, 1524-†74, the Cardinal of Lorraine, who had been won over by St Ignatius, 1540, during residence in Rome.

¹ Pastor, xii. 114 sqq.; xiii. 308 sqq.; Boehmer, 145 sqq.

² Murbt⁴, No 435.

³ For this date, see Pastor, xiii. 320, n. 1.

⁴ *E R E*, vii. 503 sqq.

⁵ Pastor, xii. 514; Boehmer, 172.

⁶ Pastor, xii. 516; xiii. 291 sqq.; Boehmer, 178 sqq.

⁷ Boehmer, 172.

⁸ Pastor, xii. 101 sqq.; xiii. 203 sqq.; Boehmer, 89 sqq.

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But national feeling was against it. Both the Parliament and the University of Paris resisted a royal ordinance establishing a College for the Jesuits in 1550; and on 1 December 1554 they were condemned by the Sorbonne. It was not till the outbreak of the Wars of Religion, 1562-98, warned the friends of the Roman See to welcome its ablest champions,¹ that the Jesuits were tolerated. But the French have never quite lost their antipathy to the Order: and no Frenchman has ever become its General.

(ii) In Northern Europe, it suffices to mention the futile mission to Ireland,² undertaken, 1542, by Brouet and Salmeron.

For, about the same time, the Order gained a footing in the Netherlands.³ On the outbreak of the last war between Charles V and Francis I, 1542-4, proclamation was made in Paris that all subjects of the Emperor must quit the country. Thereupon eight members of the Jesuit colony in Paris migrated to Louvain. Here Lefèvre, by 1543, had enrolled nineteen members of the University. Of these, nine were sent to Portugal. The rest remained: to be united, later on, in a house presided over by a Rector. But further progress was slow. Robert de Croi, 1519-†156, Bishop of Cambrai, forbade them, 1554, to officiate in his diocese, in spite of the efforts of the nuncio at Brussels. He knew that he had the support of the Emperor. When Philip II succeeded his father, 1555, St Ignatius dispatched Ribadaneira, 1527-†164, to obtain official recognition for his Society. Government and people objected, but in 1556 Philip accorded them a limited toleration. By a decree of 20 August, he gave them civil rights in the Netherlands: in spite of the opposition of the President of the Council Viglius van Zwicchem who regarded their privileges as incompatible with the rights of bishops and parish priests. Three years later, however, his sister Margaret, Duchess of Parma, and a natural daughter of Charles V, became

¹ "Son [sc Larnetz] habile polémique contre les réformées, au Colloque du Poissy, finit par ouvrir Paris à l'Ordre (15 September 1561) et par permettre aux Jésuites d'agir dans toute la France sous la protection des lois . . . A la fin de 1564, il possédait déjà 10 établissements parmi lesquels plusieurs collèges." Boehmer, 90

² Pastor, xii. 100; R W Dixon, *Hist. of E.*, iii. 421.

³ Pastor, xii, 102, xiii. 208

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Regent of the Netherlands, 1559-68; and she showed herself their friend. By her aid, and in spite of opposition from Flanders and Brabant, they established their first Colleges in Louvain, 1560, and Antwerp. At length, in 1564, Philip II recognised the value of their alliance, and removed all restrictions upon their advance.

In Germany,¹ their progress was continuous in all parts of the Empire. As early as 1540, Lefèvre arrived in the capacity of theologian to Ortiz, the Imperial Ambassador at Worms; and thence proceeded to Ratisbon, 1541. He came to Spire, 17 April 1542; where he established an influence over a canon of the Cathedral, Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, afterwards Cardinal Bishop of Augsburg, 1543-†73. Thence he went on to Mainz, in aid of its archbishop, Cardinal Albert of Brandenburg, 1514-†45. Here he gave the *Exercises* also to Julius von Pflug, Bishop of Naumburg, 1542-7, and to Michael Helding, the learned and eloquent coadjutor of Mainz, who afterwards became Bishop of Merseburg 1550-†61. Lefèvre himself, meanwhile, lived with the parish priest of St Christopher, and "turned him from a *concupinarius* into a Carthusian." After that, he went on to Cologne; and there became the founder of the first Jesuit settlement in German territory. He died in 1546.

While Lefèvre was thus occupied, two of his companions, Le Jay and Bobadilla, were busy in Bavaria, 1542. The former worked for a time at Ingolstadt and Dillingen.² The latter won his way with William IV, Duke of Bavaria, 1508-†50, the first and most powerful of the Catholic lay-princes of the Empire. Upon the coming of the *Interim*,³ 1548, Bobadilla was employed to defeat it. He succeeded in getting the Catholic princes to refuse it: and so brought the policy of Charles V to a standstill. Lest the Emperor should be exasperated with the Society, St Ignatius recalled him. Under Albert V, 1550-†79, who led the Catholics in assenting to the Peace of Augsburg,⁴ 1555, and so was the more anxious to give proof of his loyalty to the old religion, the Jesuits by his aid established Colleges at

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, i 410 sqq.; Pastor, xii. 103 sqq.; Heimbucher, ii 86; Boehmer, 104.

² Pastor, xii. 106 sq. ³ *Doc. Cont. Ref.*, No. 148. ⁴ *Ib.*, No. 149.

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Ingolstadt 1555 and Munich 1559, mainly through the influence of Canisius.

Canisius,¹ 1521-197, otherwise Peter Kanis, of Nymwegen, was a convert of Lefèvre who, at Mainz, attached him to the Order, 8 May 1543, and enlisted his services, 1545-7, against Hermann von Wied, the reforming Archbishop of Cologne, who was deposed in 1547. Canisius next appears at Ingolstadt, 1549-52, in company with Le Jay and Salmeron. The two last were soon recalled: but Canisius established himself, until he was sent to Vienna, 1552, at the request of Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, and King of the Romans, Bohemia and Hungary. Ferdinand, in the previous year, had decided upon introducing the Society into his hereditary dominions: and appointed Canisius Dean of the Faculty of Theology in the University of Vienna. Here he laboured for the reform of clerical morals, and founded a seminary where fifty young men were soon in training for the priesthood. Ferdinand next desired to make him Bishop of Vienna. The General, however, compelled him to refuse the appointment, just as Le Jay had been required to refuse the bishopric of Trieste: nor was he allowed, as has been supposed, to administer the see for a period of years.² The greatest service of Canisius to the Catholic revival was the publication of his Catechisms:³ a *Summa doctrinae Christianae*, or *Catechismus Major*, in Latin, published at Vienna in April or May 1555, with 211 Questions and Answers; a "very small" Catechism, or *Catechismus minimus*, with 59 Questions and Answers, published 1556 at Ingolstadt in Latin and at Dillingen in German; and then a fuller, but still "small" Catechism, or *Catechismus Minor*, whose title was *Parvus Catechismus Catholicorum*, with 102 Questions and Answers. It was published, 1558, in Latin at Cologne and, 1560, in German at Dillingen. The *Catechismus minimus* was intended for children and unlettered people, and meant to supplant Luther's *Short Catechism*:⁴ while the *Cate-*

¹ Pastor, xii. 109 sqq.; xiii. 200 sqq.; *Dict. Theol. Cath.*, ii. 1507-37; *Cath. Enc.*, xi. 756-61; and L. Cristiani, *Pierre Canisius* (Paris, 1925).

² Pastor, xiii. 202, n. 3.

³ Details in *Dict. Theol. Cath.*, ii. 1524 sq.

⁴ See it in H. Wace and C. A. Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, i sqq.

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chismus Major was intended for students in the Universities and Colleges, to take the place of Luther's *Greater Catechism*.¹ These manuals provided fixed standards for the education of Catholic youths, and made Canisius the instructor of Catholic Germany. For Catholic doctrine was still fluid when he took up the task of giving it fixity: while the *Parvus Catechismus Catholicorum*, in particular, being short, concise and complete, presented it in manageable form: and went through five hundred editions.

Hand in glove with Ferdinand, Canisius, in July 1554, had written to the General for advice as to the suggestions which he should tender to his Sovereign with a view to the maintenance of the Catholic Faith in his dominions where it still survived, and to the restoration of Religion where it had collapsed. Subject to modification, where required by local conditions, Ignatius replied,² 13 August 1554, by submitting the following programme. First, let the King make it appear that he is not only a Catholic but hostile to heresy, and wage open war against it. Next, let him suffer no heretic among his Councillors: and neither Governor nor Magistrate to be a heretic. Finally, everyone should understand that, once a man is suspect of heresy, no promotion to office or wealth awaits him; and, if a few examples be made by punishing some with death, confiscation or exile, the lesson will be learned the sooner. Professors in the Universities of Vienna, Freiburg im Breisgau and Prague should be at once deprived, if reputed to have any leaning towards heresy. Heretical books should be burned; and even school-books, if written by heretical authors, should not be allowed. Such men might use the very manuals of grammar, rhetoric and dialectic as vehicles for heresy. Ignorant and immoral pastors must be put down: it was their bad lives and ignorance that introduced the plague of heresy into Germany. Preachers, if convicted or even suspected of heresy, should be punished. "But about the death-penalty and the setting up of the Inquisition I say nothing; for this would hardly be received in Germany, in its present frame of mind."

Cautiously adopting some of these suggestions, Ferdinand gave to the Jesuits means to found a College, 1552, and a

¹ *Luther's Primary Works*, 24 sqq.

² *Mirbt* 4, No. 434.

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seminary,¹ 1556, as well as a school for noblemen's sons,² 1554, to which, ten years later, went St Stanislas Kostka,³ 1550-†68, the model and patron of students. By 1574 it had 100 students. In 1558 the Jesuits acquired two chairs of theology in the University of Vienna. In Bohemia, notwithstanding the resistance of the Czechs, they maintained their hold on the College of St Clement which Ferdinand gave them at Prague, and upon the churches which gradually fell into their hands.

To crown his successes Canisius became, in 1556, Provincial of Upper Germany: a region including the hereditary territories of the Hapsburgs, with Bavaria, Swabia and Switzerland: and most of the Catholic countries of Europe have to thank him and his colleagues "for the maintenance, and particularly for the recovery, of the Catholic Faith. The best proof of this is to be found in the local history of Bavaria. Austria, Bohemia, Styria, Baden, Jülich-Berg and Eichsfeld as well as of the former ecclesiastical territories of Würzburg, Passau, Bamberg, Münster, Paderborn, Fulda, Salzburg and Augsburg, not to mention the records of numerous towns."⁴ Rightly did Leo XIII beatify him as "the apostle of Germany, second only to St Boniface."⁵

Thus, at the time of the death of St Ignatius, 1556,⁶ the Order included "thirteen provinces exclusive of the Roman,"⁶ and fifteen hundred members. Of these provinces, seven belonged to Spain and Portugal, or their colonies; three were Italians; and two German, though both of these were, as yet, in their infancy. They were increased to 18 provinces, with 130 houses, and 3500 members, by the death of the second General, Lainez, 1556-†65; by the death of the fifth General,⁷ Claudius Acquaviva, 1581-†1615, to 32 provinces, 559 houses and 13,112 members. The Generalship of Acquaviva was "a time almost coinciding

¹ By 1555, it numbered ten professors and four hundred students, Pastor, xiii 199

² The Collège Archiducal.

³ Heimbucher, ii 91

⁴ *Cath. Enc*, xiv. 245 sq.

⁵ Mirbt⁴, No 637

⁶ So Ranke, *Popes*, i. 176, Fr Thurston in *ERE*, vii 504, reckons twelve but he appears to exclude the two German provinces, still in their infancy, see also Pastor, xiii 185

⁷ For a list of the Generals, prior to the suppression (eighteen in number), see Heimbucher, ii 66, and *Cath Enc*, xiv 84-6, and for the remainder, to the present day, *ib.*, 100, and *Enc Brit*¹¹, xv. 347

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with the high-tide of the successful reaction, chiefly due to the Jesuits.”¹ But the Order continued to grow. In 1770, just before its suppression,² 21 July 1773, by Clement XIV, 1769-†74, “there were 42 provinces and 23,000 members. After its rehabilitation,³ 7 August 1814, by Pius VII, 1800-†23, “the Order established itself in all European countries, in North and South America, and in many of the old mission-fields; it has resumed the work of education; and, at present, it numbers in all some 17,000 members.”⁴

¹ *Enc Brit* ¹¹, xv 344.

² *Mirbt* ⁴, No. 548.

³ *Ib*, No 564.

⁴ *E R.E.*, vii 504.

CHAPTER III

THE ROMAN INQUISITION

NEXT to the new Religious Orders and, in particular, the Jesuits, the most potent weapon of the Counter-Reformation in combating heresy was the Roman Inquisition,¹ set up in 1542.

§ 1. It was no new organisation but an adaptation of an older one.

Persecution for heresy was not a Christian principle. But from the fourth century onwards the intimate union of Church and State led to their association in dealing with opinions considered to be dangerous. Emperors imposed severe penalties on heresies subversive of morals or social order: on Manichæism, for instance, or on Priscillianism. But, in the latter case, 385, when the bishops Idacius and Ithacius had become implicated in the capital punishment of Priscillian, though only as accusers, St Martin and St Ambrose withdrew their communion from them.² It was only with reluctance, and when all other means had failed to break the fanatical hostility of the Donatists both to the Church and to the social order, that St Augustine, by the application in his later teaching of "Compel them to come in,"³ gave the sanction of his great name to the use of force in the cause of religion.⁴ Its use, however, was always challenged; and not until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did compulsion come seriously to be applied. "A wave of heresy then passed over Western Europe. Dualism and Manichæism always prevalent in the East obtained a firm footing in the West"⁵—especially in Northern Italy and

¹ Philippon, *Le Contre-Révolution Religieuse*, 161 sqq.; *C.M.H.*, ii. 649 sqq.; Ranke, *Popes*, i. 156 sqq.; Pastor, *Popes*, xii. 504 sq.; Hastings, *E.R.E.*, vii 330 sqq. (12-14 cents), ix 450 sqq (Spanish and Roman); *Cath. Enc.*, viii. 26-38.

² Kidd, *Hist. Ch. to A.D.* 461, ii. 304.

³ Luke xiv 23

⁴ Aug., *Ep*, xciii. [A.D. 408], §§ 5, 17; and *Ep*, cxxxv. [A.D. 417] § 17; and, for the former, Kidd, *Documents*, ii No 175.

⁵ *C.M.H.*, ii 649.

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the South of France. In 1179, at the third Council of the Lateran, Pope Alexander III, 1159-†81, invited temporal sovereigns to employ force of arms for the protection of Christian people from the violence of the Cathari;¹ and in 1184 Pope Lucius III, 1181-†5, in concert with the Emperor Frederick I (Barbarossa), 1152-†90, took severe measures against heresy by the Bull *Ad abolendam*² put out at the Council of Verona. Heretics were to be sought out (*Inquisitio*) and, once excommunicated, to be handed over to the secular authority to be punished according to their deserts (*ammadversione debita*).³ The punishment did not include the penalty of death: but it carried exile, confiscation and loss of civil rights. The Council, at the same time, proceeded to strengthen the episcopal courts, now beginning to administer the recently codified Canon Law in every diocese.

The action, however, of this episcopal inquisition was local and spasmodic; and, in the thirteenth century, its efforts were reinforced by a papal Inquisition entrusted to the Dominican and Franciscan Orders. Innocent III, 1198-†1216, had done no more, whether by his letters or at the Lateran Council⁴ of 1215, than confirm the decisions of his predecessors. But he had laid down the principle that "it is infinitely more serious to offend against the Divine Majesty than to injure human majesty."⁵ If criminals were to be put to death, much more heretics. This principle was embodied in the code of the Emperor Frederick II, 1214-†50, by his *Constitution*⁶ of 22 November 1220; and to this code Pope Gregory IX, 1227-†41, and Pope Innocent IV, 1243-†54, proceeded to give their sanction. They imposed it upon the tribunals of the papal Inquisition which took action side by side with the episcopal courts.

¹ Cap 27; Mansi, xxii. 231E sq.; Denzinger-Bannwart, *Enchiridion*¹⁴⁻¹⁸, No 401; and see Jean Guiraud, *L'Inquisition Médiévale* (Paris: chez B. Grassct).

² Mansi, xxii. 476 sq.; Jaffé, *Regesta*, ii. No 151 sq.

³ *Ib.*, 477D.

⁴ Cap 3. de haereticis; Mansi, xxii. 986 sq. and Mirbt⁴, No. 330.

⁵ "Longe sit gravius aeternam quam temporalem laedere majestatem"; a letter of 25 March 1199, addressed to the magistrates of Viterbo, quoted in *ERE*, vii. 330, from Innocent III; *Ep.* ii. 1 (*Op.* i.; *P.L.*, cccxiv. 539B).

⁶ *Constitutio*, § 6 (Mirbt⁴, No. 340a).

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These tribunals, called into activity by the Councils of Narbonne,¹ 1227, and Toulouse,² 1229, soon covered the whole of Latin Christendom, England only excepted.³ By the fifteenth century, however, the papal Inquisition began to languish. Its work was done. There was a general decline in religious conviction. In the sixteenth century, it became more effete: for many of the friars themselves were affected by reforming opinions. In Italy, it had little organisation, and exerted no power.

But in Spain,⁴ the Inquisition continued to flourish. With an eye to national consolidation, by the conversion or extinction of Jews and Moors, Ferdinand the Catholic, 1474-†1516, procured in 1478 from Pope Sixtus IV, 1471-†84, "a Bull which empowered the Sovereigns to nominate either two or three inquisitors":⁵ and the Inquisition was thus revived in Spain (1) as a papal institution and (2) as an instrument of the secular authority.⁶ It spread all over the peninsula, and even reached Majorca and Sardinia. Under the first Inquisitor-General, Thomas de Torquemada,⁷ 1420-†98, about 2200 persons were burned.⁸ He was succeeded in turn by Diego Deza, Bishop of Palencia, 1500-5, and Archbishop of Seville, 1505-†23; next, by Cardinal Ximenez,⁹ Archbishop of Toledo, 1495-†1517; and then by Cardinal Adrian, Bishop of Tortosa, 1516-22, and afterwards Pope Adrian VI, 1522-†4. Adrian's successor as Grand Inquisitor was Alfonso de Manriquez, Archbishop of Seville, 1523-†38; and, in his time, Lutheran books first found their way into Spain. The tribunal now began to direct its attention less to Jews and Moors than to Alumbrados and Protestants: and, among the former, both St Ignatius Loyola and St Teresa attracted its attention. At length, under Fernando Valdez,

¹ Canon xiv. "Ut ab episcopis testes synodales in singulis instituuntur parochus qui de haeresi et de aliis criminibus manifestis inquirant, postmodum episcopis quod invenerint relaturi." Mansi, xxii. 248

² Canons i.-xiii. Mansi, xxii. 191-7.

³ *E.R.E.*, vii. 332.

⁴ *Ib.*, ix. 450 *sqq.*; *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 36 *sqq.*

⁵ *E.R.E.*, ix. 451.

⁶ "A spiritual court invested with royal authority." *Ib.*, 452

⁷ Nephew of the celebrated theologian and cardinal, Juan de Torquemada. *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 783.

⁸ *E.R.E.*, ix. 453.

⁹ *Cath. Enc.*, xv. 729.

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Archbishop of Seville, 1547-†66, the Spanish Inquisition took its place as an instrument of the Counter-Reformation. For Philip II, 1556-†98, identified himself with it; and Paul IV, 1555-†9, adopted it as part of the universal organisation which, as Cardinal Caraffa, he had created for the repression of heresy and the defence of the faith.

§ 2. The founding of the Roman Inquisition¹ was due to Caraffa's connexion with Spain. Papal in origin but Spanish by development, the Inquisition in Spain had proved a terrible but effective engine of uniformity, both national and religious. This made a deep impression upon Caraffa; when, for some years, he served as nuncio in Spain. "An uncle of the Duke of Alva, the Cardinal of St Iago, suggested to him that the best way to save the Church was to introduce the Spanish Inquisition; and he was seconded by another Spaniard, a Basque of great note in history"²—St Ignatius Loyola. Caraffa accordingly conceived the idea of setting up a centralised, permanent and universal tribunal on the Spanish model: which should operate without exemption of any from its jurisdiction, and be strong enough to smite down the highest offenders first. Paul III, 1534-†49, welcomed the proposal. The spread of Lutheranism in Italy, especially at Lucca, where in 1539 a Capuchin preached heresy and had to be reprimanded by him,³ distressed the Pope. His earlier policy had been to attach the "Lutheranising" prelates to himself, and to set them to work at practical reform. But in their *Consilium delectorum Cardinalium . . . de emendanda ecclesia* they ventured to report that, in their opinion, the principal cause of corruption lay in the abuse of the supreme power by the Popes themselves to serve their own pleasure instead of the Church. They recommended that, in future, every papal grace should be granted free of charge, and they condemned the simony of the existing system. Paul at once perceived that reform, on these lines, would mean the loss of revenue and of the greatness of his see; and he turned to repression. The moderates, Contarini and his friends, fell into disgrace. One by one, they became suspect

¹ *E.R.E.*, ix. 453 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, viii. 37; and as "Holy Office," s v "Roman Congregations," *ib.*, xii. 137.

² Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, 110.

³ Pastor, xii. 493

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of heresy: as Contarini himself, in a letter¹ of 23 August 1541, complains. Heresy was now to be exterminated: not copied in doctrine nor conciliated by reforms. On 14 January 1542 the Pope decreed that all persons who claimed exemption from the jurisdiction of the Inquisition should submit at once;² and then, at the suggestion of Caraffa, warmly supported by a fellow-Dominican, Juan Alvarez de Toledo, Cardinal Archbishop of Burgos 1539-50 and by Ignatius Loyola,³ he set up the Roman Inquisition by the Bull *Licet ab initio*⁴ of 21 July 1542, to deal, first, with Lucca.

§ 3. The Pope begins by affirming that, ever since his elevation to the Apostolic dignity, he had been anxious for the reunion of heretics with the Catholic Church. He had hoped to effect this by the Œcumenical Council now in prospect: but, § 1, for various reasons and, in particular, owing to the war still raging between Charles V and Francis I, 1542-4, the Council had been delayed. Therefore, § 2, lest things should grow worse he has appointed six Cardinals as Commissioners of the Apostolic See and Inquisitors-General . . . in matters of faith, on both sides of the Alps, the two Dominicans, "Caraffa and Toledo being the first among them."⁵ They were to have authority, § 3, regardless of the Ordinary of the place, over all sorts and conditions of men; § 4, to appoint officials; § 5, to degrade clerics; § 6, to visit opponents with censure and, § 7, to call in the aid of the secular arm. They were also, § 8, to enjoy the right of delegating similar powers to ecclesiastics in all such places as should seem good to them. "One restriction only was imposed on the power of these men. They were at liberty to inflict punishment, but the right of pardon was reserved by the Pope to himself."⁶ Further, § 9, they were to have power to determine all appeals against the acts of their delegates, without reference to the ordinary ecclesiastical courts: and, § 10, whatever these Cardinals, or their deputies, did "we decree to be completely valid and to be observed in perpetuity."

Caraffa took action at once. He was not rich; but he

¹ Philippson, 176, n. 1.

² *Ib*, 176, Pastor, xii. 504.

³ Ranke, *Popes*, i. 157

⁴ Mirbt⁴, No 429.

⁵ Ranke, i. 157

⁶ *Ib*, 158.

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hired a house in Rome, and fitted it up at his own expense, with rooms for the officials and prisons for the accused. He then issued four rules of procedure for the Inquisitors. First, they must punish even on suspicion. Second, they must have no regard for the great. Third, they must chastise with most severity such as shelter behind the powerful. Fourth, they must shew no mildness, least of all towards Calvinists.¹ In private conversation, he insisted most of all on the duty of striking at men in high place; "for," said he, "on their punishment, the salvation of the classes beneath them depends."²

§ 4. Coming now to the progress made by the Inquisition in pursuit of its ends, Caraffa in Italy shewed himself true to these principles. It is difficult to be quite precise: for the Holy Office still refuses all direct access to its Roman archives.³ There is evidence, however, that "consideration was shewn to the sick, strict confinement was used only in a few extreme cases, the use of torture was rare, and the Inquisitors were personally merciful."⁴ But men in high place were quickly sought out and dealt with. Thus the Vicar-General of the Capuchins, Bernardino Ochino,⁵ was obliged to take flight to Geneva, 1542; and his intimate friend Pietro Martire Vermigli 1500-†62, Prior of the Augustinians at Naples, 1533, and of San Frediano at Lucca, 1541, had to flee thither also.⁶ Both of them were members of the Blessed Fellowship, founded by Juan Valdez in Naples, and dispersed in 1542. One of Vermigli's followers, Celio Secondo Curione,⁷ 1503-†69, left Italy about the same time, August 1542. As time went on, prelates were not exempt. In March 1551 a process was instituted against Vettore Sorranzo,⁸ Bishop of Bergamo, 1547-†58. He belonged to one of the noble families of Venice: and was suspect of heresy, for he too was a member of the Blessed Fellowship. For two years he was imprisoned in the Castle of St Angelo; and, though the investigation ended with his acquittal, 1554, he was arrested again and deprived of his

¹ Ranke, i. 158.

² Philippson, 181.

³ Pastor, xiii. 507.

⁴ *E.R.E.*, ix. 452.

⁵ Pastor, xi. 488 sq.; xii. 497; *C.M.H.*, ii. 392 sq.

⁶ Pastor, xii. 497 sq.; *C.M.H.*, ii. 391.

⁷ Hauck-Hefzog, *Realencyclopädie*, iv. 353-7.

⁸ Pastor, xiii. 217; xiv. 284.

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bishopric, 1558. Caraffa found his task easy, because family feuds and political factions in every town kept up a supply of accusations. Italy was paralysed. The University of Modena disbanded itself, 1546. The weaker heretics abjured. The stronger fled. A few stood firm to the death. The Franciscan Giovanni Mollio, for instance, also a member of the Blessed Fellowship, was arrested at Ravenna 1553 and suffered at Rome, in the Campo de' Fiori, with his pupil Tisserano:¹ and on 4 September 1553 a silk-weaver, with a Minorite named Giovanni Buzio from Montalcino, was executed there also. They denied purgatory, the authority of the Pope, and the doctrine of indulgences, and declared that Julius III was anti-Christ.² Lucca, however, managed to keep the obnoxious tribunal out; but by 1551 the last Lucchese reformers had been compelled to take flight.³ The Neapolitans revolted upon the Emperor's order made in 1546 at the suggestion of Caraffa, to introduce the Spanish Inquisition in their city, and Charles V gave in. But Caraffa, who became Archbishop of Naples 1549, charged his Vicar-General with the extinction of heresy there, and so was able to give equal effect to his will.

§ 5. Under Paul III, 1534-†49, and Julius III, 1550-†5, both men of easy temperament, Caraffa could not give full rein to his purposes. In 1551, however, he obtained the appointment of the Dominican, Michael Ghisleri, afterwards Pius V,⁴ 1566-†72, as Commissary-General of the Holy Office: and so secured the aid of a man, if possible, more austere than himself. They held on their course together until Caraffa became Paul IV, 1555-†9; and then the Inquisition increased its activity.

Paul IV was animated by an equal hatred of the Hapsburgs and of "Lutheranism." One of his earliest attacks therefore was made upon Cardinal Pole,⁵ 1500-†58; formerly associated with Lutherans in Italy and now Legate to England under Queen Mary, whose husband was the Hapsburg Philip II of Spain. On 9 April 1557 Pole was

¹ K. R. Hagenbach, *Hist. Ref.*, ii. 359.

² Pastor, xiii. 218

³ *C M H.*, ii. 392

⁴ See G. Greuter, *St Pie V* (Paris, 1914), and *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 130

⁵ He was the son of Margaret, Countess of Salisbury, and niece of Edward IV. See H. B. George, *Tables*, No. V, and *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 201 sqq.

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recalled from his legation in England; and, 14 June, the Franciscan, Friar Peto, was sent to supersede him. But Cardinal Pole was wise enough to remain at home: and he died in peace, 17 November 1558. Paul failed in an endeavour, 1557, to establish the Roman Inquisition in France, in spite of the support of its Catholic King, Henry II, 1547-†159: and was obliged to leave the work once more to the diocesan bishops,¹ 2 July 1552.

But in Italy he had better success. Here the powers of the Inquisition had already been extended beyond matters of faith, so as to deal with immorality. They were now further enlarged, so as to include simony:² and Paul set spies upon the Inquisitors to see that they used them with due severity. There were some suspected of heresy even among the Inquisitors themselves. Five cities were the chief centres of reforming influence in Italy³—Venice, because there foreigners were many and toleration a principle of the State; Ferrara and Modena, both of the Duchy of Ferrara, because of Renée,⁴ Duchess of Ferrara, 1528-†176, whose court was a centre for heretics, such as the latitudinarian Curione, from Piedmont, and Calvin himself; Naples, because of Juan Valdez, 1500-†141, the founder of the Blessed Fellowship, and his pupil Benedetto da Mantua, an Augustinian, and author of a book *On the benefit of Christ*; and Lucca, because of Pietro Martire Vermigli, whom we have already mentioned. In 1542, Caraffa had made a beginning with Naples and Lucca: and the turn of Renée of Ferrara came after his death. Modena, second city of her duchy, was full of suspects, beginning with Cardinal Morone, its bishop, 1529-†180. In 1556, several of them, including Ludovico Castelvetro, who had translated the works of Melanchthon into Italian, two members of the family of Valentino, one of whom, Boniface, was Provost of the Cathedral, and a bookseller named Antonio Gabaldino, under the authority of a brief of Paul IV, dated 1 October 1555, were cited as suspects, July 1556. The Provost recanted, and was set at liberty; his brother Filippo, and Castelvetro, saved themselves by flight; but the bookseller

¹ Pastor, xiv. 324.

² *Ib.*, 203.

³ *CMH*, ii 381 sqq.

⁴ She was daughter of Louis XII of France, 1498-†1515, and wife of Ercole II, Duke of Ferrara, 1534-†159.

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refused to recant and was imprisoned for life.¹ Morone, together with Egidio Foscarari, a Dominican and Master of the Sacred Palace under Paul III, who succeeded Morone as Bishop of Modena 1550-†64, and Gian Antonio San Felice, Bishop of La Cava 1520-50, were seized and imprisoned in the Castle of St Angelo. Here Morone remained from the day of his arrest, 31 May 1557, till the death of Paul IV; whose treatment of him is explained by the fear that, as Morone was expected to be the next Pope, there would then be a heretic on the throne of St Peter. At Ancona, in the Papal States since 1532, twelve Marranos (or Jews converted to Christianity but, perhaps, insincerely and therefore called by that name, meaning "swine"), were burned in 1556.² At Venice, the Signory had already given support, in the time of Paul III, to the Inquisition; but they took care to associate with its tribunals representatives of their own,³ 1547-8. Though severe enough, the tribunals had not extirpated Protestantism: but they had forced Pietro Paolo Vergerio to take flight, May 1549, for apostasy to Lutheranism. Vergerio, 1495-†1565, who had several times served Clement VII and Paul III as Nuncio in Germany, was rewarded by being made Bishop of Capo d'Istria, 1536-49, his native town. He had been led by the reading of Lutheran writings to an open rupture with the Church; and, 3 July 1549, was deposed from his episcopate by Paul III.⁴ The banishment and deposition of one apostate was not enough for Paul IV. He revived the energies of the Venetian tribunals. The Doge delivered up several Venetians charged with heresy: and they were burnt in Rome.

§ 6. Thus, in one country after another, the Inquisition was a self-working organisation which no single state could successfully resist. Paul IV, in order to make it all-powerful, determined (1) to strike at the roots of heresy, and (2) to put aside all other schemes in its favour.

(1) In 1559 he published the first Roman *Index librorum prohibitorum*.⁵ The step was not entirely new. In 1543, as Inquisitor-General, he had put out a decree that no book,

¹ Pastor, xiv. 282.

² *Ib.*, 275; *ERE*, ix. 453.

³ Pastor, xii. 510

⁴ *Ib.*, 511

⁵ *Cath. Enc.*, vii. 721; and s.v. "Censorship," iii. 519.

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new or old, should issue from the Press without permission from the Holy Office; and the Bull *In Cæna Domini*,¹ which was a papal sentence of excommunication formally published against heretics every Maundy Thursday, prohibited heretical books.² But neither of these enactments had specified what books were heretical and what were not. Thus *Indexes* began to appear, first at Louvain, then at Paris; afterwards at Venice, with a list of about seventy books; at Florence, in 1552; at Milan, in 1554; and in Spain, 1559. But these were only of local importance. In January 1559 Paul IV issued the official Roman *Index* or "List of Authors and Books against which the Roman and Universal Inquisition orders all Christians to be on their guard, under the threat of Censure and Punishment." Such books are divided into three classes. First, there are authors who erred *ex professo*; all their works are prohibited, even when they contain nothing against the faith. The works of Erasmus fell under this condemnation. Next, there are authors of whose books only some had been condemned, because experience had shewn that they occasionally led persons into heresy. To this class belonged the *Consilium delectorum Cardinalium de emendanda ecclesia*—the work of Paul IV himself and his former colleagues. And, finally, there are books which contain pernicious doctrines and were, for the most part, written by anonymous heretics: such as the book *On the benefit of Christ*, of which only one copy now survives. Then follow miscellaneous prohibitions: as of books published without the name of the author, or mention of date or place; or without ecclesiastical permission. All translations of the New Testament into the vernacular are forbidden; and a list of sixty-one printers is added, all of whose publications are also banned.³ Arts and letters and the Universities were thus threatened with paralysis, wherever the *Index* could be enforced.

(2) About the same time, Paul IV definitely abandoned his hostility against the Hapsburgs, and took up again his lifelong interest in the reform of the Church. In the early days of his pontificate he had dropped it in favour of political

¹ Its latest form, as published by Urban VIII, on 1 April 1627, is given in Mirbt⁴, No. 513.

² *Ib.* § 1.

³ Pastori, xiv. 278 sq.

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schemes for the advancement of his nephews. But he banished them in January 1559; and, meanwhile, he had made peace¹ 14 September 1557, with Philip II—a peace which established the Spanish ascendancy in Milan and Naples. Paul turned this to account for the benefit of the Inquisition. It was to this ascendancy that the Inquisition owed its success. Without Spanish support it could never have prevailed. Paul augmented its privileges by allowing its officials to use torture, in order to obtain a confession from victims about their accomplices. He forbade even apologists to read prohibited books, 21 December 1558. Only the Inquisitors-General might do so, and Cardinals with a special permit from the Pope. He wrote to Philip II, urging renewed action in Spain; and made Michael Ghislieri a Cardinal, 15 March 1557, and Grand Inquisitor of the Roman Church, 1558. At last, he died, 18 August 1559: and such hatred pursued his memory for his severity that the populace sacked and destroyed the buildings of the Roman Inquisition, and burnt its records.

§ 7. Paul IV was succeeded by the amiable and politic Pius IV,² 1559–†65. He had no love for his predecessor nor for his tribunal,³ any more than had the Roman populace. This contributed no little to his elevation to the papal throne. But the Inquisition was too strong to be dislodged. Moreover, Pius, aware that he was but a poor theologian, thought it best to leave the defence of orthodoxy in its hands. The times too were full of danger; the Church in great straits; the Roman See menaced as much by projects for the revival of the Council of Trent as by increased defections. There was nothing for it but to commit himself to the new spirit breathed into the Court of Rome by Paul IV, and incarnated there not only by Michael Ghislieri but by his own nephew St Charles Borromeo,⁴ Archbishop of Milan 1560–†84. With his aid, the Inquisition harried Renée, Duchess of Ferrara, 1528–†76, out of home and country, 2 September 1560. In June 1562, Ascanio Colonna, accompanied by Inquisitors and Jesuits, massacred with gross brutalities the

¹ Pastor, xiv 167 sqq; *C.M.H.*, ii 92.

² *Cath. Enc.*, xii 129.

³ Pastor, xvi 305 sqq.

⁴ Ranke, *Popes*, i 278 sqq.; Pastor, xv 96 sqq; L. Celier, *S. Charles Borromeo* (Paris, 1923), *Cath. Enc.*, iii 619.

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Waldenses of Guardia in Calabria to the number of two thousand. When Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, 1555-†80, failed to mete out the same treatment to the Waldenses of Piedmont, 1561, Pius complained loudly of his too ready concessions.

§ 8. But in January 1566 the easy-going Pius IV was succeeded by the austere and unbending Ghislieri. He took the name of Pius V,¹ 1566-72. Pietro Carnesecchi,² a friend of Pope Clement VII, and a protonotary apostolic, 1508-†67, a scholar too and humanist of Florence, who had been cited by the Inquisition, 1557, and condemned for contumacy in April 1558, was beheaded in October 1567. Aonio Paleario,³ a professor of Rhetoric at Siena, and at Lucca, 1546-55, and at Milan, was strangled, 8 July 1570, at the age of seventy. By the Bull *Inter multiplices*⁴ of 21 December 1566 Pius V deprived even the Holy See of its supreme power in causes of faith. The *auto-da-fé* became a common spectacle in Rome; and Cardinals and Ambassadors were forced to attend it. Pius V has been deservedly canonised not only for his irreproachable life but for the services which he rendered to the Roman Church. He succeeded in stifling the last remnants of Protestantism in Italy, and even in suppressing every sort of religious divergence. At what price this uniformity was purchased may be gathered from the subsequent decadence of Italy. But the immediate result was a triumph for the papacy. Pius V provided for his successors a secure and unassailable basis in Italy, from whence to labour for the reconquest of countries north of the Alps. It only remains to see how Spain, similarly purged of heresy, secured the victory for the Counter-Reformation by throwing its weight on to the side of the Holy See.⁵

§ 9. We have already observed the progress of the Inquisition in Spain up to the accession of Paul IV, in 1555. But, despite its efforts, Spain, like Italy, is now known to have had more sympathies with reform than was commonly thought.⁶ While the ancient tribunal was occupying itself

¹ Ranke, i. 268-78; Pastor, xvii. 288 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 130.

² Pastor, xvii. 302 sqq.

³ *Ib.*, 294 sq.; Philippson, 243.

⁴ *Ib.*, 307 sqq.

⁵ Philippson, 247 sqq.

⁶ For the Reformation in Spain, see *C.M.H.*, ii. 399 sqq.

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with Jews and Moors, the writings of Erasmus found their way into the country. They met with ready acceptance because of the revival of learning which had taken place there under the guidance of Cardinal Ximenez, Archbishop of Toledo 1495-†1517, and found an early champion at Naples in the humanist Alfonso de Valdez,¹ 1500-†132. He was First Secretary to the Emperor Charles V, and author of the *Dialogue*, 1527, on the Sack of Rome. In it he vindicates the Emperor, and declares the catastrophe to be a judgment on the sins of the papacy. Lutheranising tracts and opinions followed in the wake of the humanists. Such opinions were connected with the influence of Juan de Valdez,² 1500-†41, twin-brother of Alfonso, Secretary to the Spanish Viceroy at Naples and leader of the Blessed Fellowship:³ with Francisco de Enzinas, author of a Castilian version of the New Testament: and with his brothers Jaimé and Juan. Jaimé de Enzinas was burnt at Rome, 16 March 1547, by the Roman Inquisition: while Francisco escaped to England, became Professor of Greek at Cambridge 1547-9, and died at Augsburg 1550. Towns of importance were crowded with Lutherans: such as Seville, in the south, owing to the preaching of Rodrigo de Valero, †1550, a native of Andalusia, and his convert Dr Juan Gil (Egidius) †1556: and, in the north, Valladolid, where Lutheranism was planted by Francisco de San Roman, †1542, a native of Burgos, who had come under its influence in Flanders. Lutherans were even found in the retinue of Charles V himself, especially his three chaplains—Dr Agustin Cazalla, Dr Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, Canon of Seville, and Bartolomeo Carranza—of whom more presently. Spain also produced the anti-Trinitarians Michael Servetus, †27 October 1553, and his follower, Alfonso Ligurio of Tarragona.

Charles V, from his retirement at Yuste, "adjured his son to carry out the work of repression to the uttermost: and Philip II replied that he would do what his father wished and more also."⁴ Encouraged still further by Paul IV, he determined to suppress heresy throughout his dominions. On 8 October 1559, an *auto-da-fé* was held at Valladolid, in the presence of Philip himself, at which seven

¹ *C.M.H.*, II 388.

² *Ib.*, 390

³ *Ib.*, 388 *sqq.*

⁴ *Ib.*, 408.

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men and six women were burnt, and five women imprisoned for life. Others preceded or followed at Seville, 24 September 1559 and 22 December 1560; at Toledo, 1571; and at Saragossa. Then the Inquisition struck at the highest ecclesiastic in the land; and took seventeen years to ruin him. Bartolomeo Carranza¹ was born in 1503, and entered the Dominican Order in 1520. After winning golden opinions, 1545, at the Council of Trent, he shewed himself zealous against heresy, in Spain 1553, in England 1554, and in Flanders 1557. For these distinguished services he was promoted Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, 1558-†76. But he had made an enemy of Fernando de Valdez, the Inquisitor-General and Archbishop of Seville; and had a lifelong rival in the Dominican theologian, Melchior Cano. Valdez applied to Rome for permission to proceed against him: and, with the consent of Philip II, in August 1559, Carranza was arrested and thrown into prison. There he remained till 1566, when his case was cited to Rome. Pius V was convinced of his innocence; and a decree would probably have been issued in his favour, had not the Pope died, 1 August 1572. The process began again under Gregory XIII, 1572-†85; and it was not till 14 April 1576 that the final sentence was given against him. He was commanded to abjure certain propositions, and to perform certain penances. But his strength gave way before he could fulfil the task; and, after receiving the last sacraments, he died 2 May 1576, in communion with the Church.² His process marks the end of heresy in Spain; and the final victory of the Counter-Reformation there. But it also marks the change which had come over Roman orthodoxy since Carranza's boyhood. It had become fixed, exclusive and implacable; and this was the spirit that carried the Counter-Reformation to its goal.

¹ Pastor, xiv. 315; xv. 328 *sqq.*; xvii. 344 *sqq.*

² Philippson, 269 *sqq.*; *C.M.H.*, II. 409.

CHAPTER IV

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT, 1545-63

PAUL III was the last but one of the Popes of the Renaissance. But he had the good sense to perceive the need for reform; and it was he who called into being the three agencies by which it was effected. In 1540 he authorised the Company of Jesus. In 1542 he set up the Roman Inquisition. And in 1544 he issued the Bull which finally led to the assembling of the Council of Trent.¹

§ 1. In spite of the failure of the Councils of the Fifteenth Century, a Council was still held to be the natural way for bringing about the reform of the Church. At the Diet of Nuremberg, the Estates, on 5 February 1523, informed Pope Adrian VI, 1522-†3, that "the remedy, in their judgment, was a free Christian Council."² But, while they had an eye to Germany only and confined their desires to a national Synod "at Strassburg, Mainz, Köln or Metz," Charles V, whose responsibilities extended far beyond the Empire, demanded a General Council. Neither Pope nor Curia could view this demand without alarm. A Council might again declare itself superior to the Pope.³ In any case, the more it did to put down abuses, the less it would leave to the Curia of their revenues. At the very mention of a Council, all the saleable offices in Rome went down in value.⁴ Clement VII, 1523-†34, had reasons of his own for fearing a Council—the taint of illegitimacy and the guilt of simony.⁵ But, after the Sack of Rome in 1527, Clement

¹ *Acta gemuna Conc. Trid. ab Angelo Massarelli conscripta* ed A. Theiner (2 vols., Zagrabiae, 1874); Paolo Sarpi, *Hist. Co. Trent.*, tr. Sir Nicholas Brent (London, 1676); Pallavicini, *Hist. Conc. Trid.* (Antwerpiae, 1673); Ranke, *Popes*, i. 149-56, 249-68; Philippson, 277 sqq.; Pastor, xi.-xv.; J. Waterworth, *The Council of Trent* (1888); *C. M. H.*, ii. 659 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, xv. 30-5.

² *D.C.R.*, No. 60.

³ As at Constance, 6 April 1415; Mirbt⁴, No. 392.

⁴ Pallavicini, III. vii. § 1; Ranke, *Popes*, i. 87.

⁵ Sarpi, i. § 95; Pallavicini, II. x. §§ 2-4.

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was forced to agree, 26 November 1527, that a Council should be summoned "as soon as possible":¹ while Charles, in an announcement to the Diet of Augsburg, 7 September 1530, felt himself strong enough to force upon the Protestants a demand that they should submit to its decisions.² A fresh advance of the Turks, however, in April 1532, obliged the Emperor to put off the accomplishment of his designs: until, at last, it became clear to Catholics and Protestants alike in Germany that its religious divisions must be healed, for its safety was at stake. Accordingly, by the Peace of Nuremberg,³ 23 July 1532, both parties united in calling for a Council which should be "general, free and Christian." They further declared that, if "within a year" such a Council failed to assemble, they would settle their differences for themselves in a national synod. Such a prospect meant schism. It was distasteful no less to the Emperor than to the Pope; and, on the death of Clement, Cardinal Farnese only obtained election as Paul III,⁴ 1534-†49, on condition that he would speedily assemble the Council so long expected.

Paul III was as good as his word; and, 2 June 1536, he summoned the Council to meet at Mantua.⁵ But no sooner had he done so, than war broke out for the third time,⁶ between Charles and Francis, 1535-8: and the Pope prorogued the Council to meet in Vicenza,⁷ 1 May 1538. Encouraged by the zeal of the reforming Cardinals, Morone and Sadoleto, as well as by urgent appeals from Catholics in Germany, he maintained his interest in it; and, at an interview with Charles V at Lucca, September 1541, associated himself definitely with the resolve of the Emperor to see it in being.⁸ But again the rivalry of Charles and

¹ Pallavicini, II. xiv. §§ 13-14.

² *Ib.*, No. 125.

³ *D.C.R.*, No. 122.

⁴ *Cath. Enc.*, xi. 579-81.

⁵ *Acta*, i. 14; Pastor, xi. 79.

⁶ The four wars between Charles V and Francis I were:—

(1) 1521-6, ended by Treaty of Madrid, 14 January 1526; *D.C.R.*, No. 86.

(2) 1526-9, ended by Peace of Cambrai, 5 August 1529; *Ib.*, p. 245.

(3) 1535-8, ended by Pacification of Nice, 18 June 1538; *Ib.*, p. 305.

(4) 1542-4, ended by Peace of Crespy, 18 September 1544, *Ib.*, No. 144.

⁷ *Acta*, i. 15; Pastor, xi. 106.

⁸ Pallavicini, IV. xvi. § 8.

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Francis intervened: and a fourth war between them, 1542-4, absorbed the attention of the Emperor. The Pope, however, had already shewn his goodwill by convoking the Council, 22 May 1542, to meet at Trent:¹ a city Italian in sympathy but situated just within the borders of the Empire. He also sent Legates thither to open the Council—Parisio, Morone and Pole²—the two last being men known to have leanings towards the Lutheran tenet of Justification. They waited there for six months: until Paul was obliged to relieve them by a Bull³ of 6 July 1543, adjourning the Council.

This time it was Charles himself who was responsible for the delay. He was annoyed with the Farnese because they would do nothing to assist him against the Franco-Turkish alliance; and he turned to the Protestants for the aid which he sought in vain from the Pope. Promising them once more, at the Diet of Speier 1544, a Council that was to be "general, free and Christian," he undertook to regulate the religious affairs of Germany, meanwhile, in an Imperial Diet.⁴ Again, it looked as if a schism were at hand: and no sooner had the Emperor set seal to his victory over Francis by, September 1544, the Peace of Crespy⁵ than the Pope took alarm.⁶ He made up his mind to win him over at all costs. Sending his grandson, Cardinal Alexander Farnese,⁷ 1520-†89, as Legate to Germany, he promised to aid the Emperor in the suppression of the Protestants, "even to the point of selling his tiara, should it be necessary."⁸ This alliance meant, at last, the speedy assembling of the Council. But it also meant that the Council would meet for the establishment of a Catholicism not traditional merely but exclusive. Charles, however, did not abandon his determination to secure by its means a reform of abuses: and in this double aim—the retention of Catholic dogma coupled with disciplinary reform—he had behind him the support of the Spanish episcopate. Paul III braved the prospect. For the third and last time,

¹ *Acta*, i. 16; *Canones et decreta Conc. Trid.*, 1-10; Pastor, xii. 144.

² *Acta*, i. 17, Pastor, xii. 154.

³ *Acta*, i. 18; Pastor, xii. 181.

⁴ For the Recess of Speier, 10 June 1544, see Pastor, xii. 189.

⁵ *D.C.R.*, No. 144.

⁶ See his letter of 24 August 1544 in Pallavicini, V. vi; and summary in Pastor, xii. 195, or J. A. Froude, *Council of Trent*, 159 sqq. It was largely the work of Caraffa.

⁷ *Cath. Enc.*, v. 788.

⁸ Philippon, 292.

⁹ *Acta*, i. 18.

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he summoned the Council.¹ It was to meet at Trent, 15 March 1545. Thither the Pope also invited all Christian princes, bidding them to be present either in person or through their ambassadors. He then appointed as his Legates,² to preside over the Council, Giovanni Maria del Monte (afterwards Pope Julius III,³ 1549-†1555), a man of humble extraction, not without learning but impatient and choleric: Marcello Cervini (afterwards Marcellus II,⁴ †1555), pious and diplomatic, the intimate friend of Caraffa and devoted like him to the plan of a Catholic reform in the papal interest: and, last of all, in order to give some satisfaction to the party of reconciliation, Reginald Pole, whose force of character, unfortunately, was not equal to his distinction. Together they made their solemn entry into Trent,⁵ 13 March 1545. and all seemed ready for the Council to begin.

§ 2. But further delays ensued; and it was not until 13 December 1545 that the opening Session of the First Assembly of Trent took place. Besides the Legates, there were present no more than one Cardinal—Christopher Madruzzo, Prince-bishop of Trent 1539-67, four archbishops, twenty-one bishops, one of whom was Richard Pates,⁶ the Henrician Bishop of Worcester 1554-9, and five Generals of Orders.⁷

The first three Sessions⁸ were taken up with arrangements for the conduct of business. Questions arose concerning the title of the Council, the right to vote, and the priority to be given to doctrine or reform. After no little difference of opinion, they were settled, in the main, to the advantage of the papacy.

The first question to be debated was the title of the assembly. For this, the Legates proposed: *Sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus, in Spiritu sancto legitime congregata, in ea presidentibus tribus apostolicae sedis legatis*. The party of

¹ *Acta*, i. 18.

² *Ib.*, 19.

³ *Cath. Enc.*, viii. 564.

⁴ *Cath. Enc.*, ix. 641.

⁵ *Acta*, i. 20

⁶ Provided 8 July 1541. Wm. Stubbs, *Registrum Sacrum Anghcanum*²,

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⁷ *Acta*, i. 29 sq.; or S. Merkle, *Diariorum Collectio*, i. 429 (Herder, 1901).

⁸ On 13 December 1545 and 7 January and 4 February 1546. *Can. et Del.* 7, 11-15; Pastor, xii 240; Philippon, 305 sqq.; *C.M.H.*, ii 664 sq.

reform desired to add, *Ecclesiae universalis repraesentans*.¹ Their intention was to affirm the superiority of the Council even to the Pope, and so to declare its supreme authority. But the Legates resisted; giving as their reasons that the added clause would offend the Protestants,² and was also unnecessary. Their real objection was, as they wrote to Cardinal Farnese, 5 January 1546, that it was incompatible with the universal authority of the Holy See, and recalled the hated memories of Constance and Bâle.³ They succeeded in obtaining the rejection of the proposal, 13 January 1546.⁴

Not content with thus maintaining the superiority of the Pope over the Council, they went on to make themselves masters of its proceedings by careful regulations as to the right to vote. At Constance and Bâle, the voting had been by nations: while abbots and theologians had been allowed a vote as well as Bishops and Generals of Religious Orders. This was an invasion of the rights of the episcopate; for bishops alone, in ancient times, were constituent members of Œcumenical Councils. The Legates, on this point, had the bishops with them; for the bishops were jealous of the rights of their Order.⁵ It was accordingly decided, 29 December 1545, to confine the power of voting to bishops and Heads of Religious Orders.⁶ They were also to vote not by nations but severally; a decision conformable indeed to ancient precedent but one which, in the circumstances, gave a large advantage to the adherents of the papacy. Such adherents were found in the Italian bishops. In Italy, there were small dioceses and many bishops. They had also small revenues; and were dependent on the Holy See not only for pensions and prospects, but by virtue of their oath of obedience to the Pope. When such men were present in force, the Legates were sure of a majority, so soon as voting was confined to bishops. It was further ruled that an absent bishop had no vote by proxy,⁷ and if the effect

¹ On the motion of Bruccio Martelli, Bishop of Fiesole 1530-†151, made on 4 January 1546; *Acta*, i. 35.

² So del Monte; *Acta*, i. 35.

³ J. Mendham, *Memoirs of the Council of Trent*, 39 sq.

⁴ *Acta*, i. 40.

⁵ Jacopo Nacchianti, Bishop of Chioggia 1544-†169, voiced this jealousy: *Acta*, i. 35 sq.

⁶ *Acta*, i. 34.

⁷ *Ib.*, 37.

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of the former decision was to let in the votes of the Italian majority, the effect of this was to shut out the transalpine or, as they were then called, the ultramontane bishops, many of whom were rulers of wide territories who could not leave their dioceses for fear that heresy might overturn them in their absence.

There remained the question whether doctrine or reform was to be taken first¹. According to the papal programme, the time had gone by for placating the Protestants: and what was required was to give exact definition to Catholic doctrine, to rally the faithful in defence of it, and then to leave it to the papacy to deal with abuses at discretion. But the Emperor and his Spanish episcopate had other views. Learned and orthodox, the Spanish bishops were at one with the papal party in advocating no conciliation in doctrine. Strongly nationalist, they were at one with other ultramontanes in maintaining the superiority of the Council over the Pope. Austere in life, they were at one with the Emperor in desiring to proceed at once to the removal of abuses. Charles, less unyielding in doctrine, would probably have made some concessions of this sort to win over the Protestants. But it was essential both for the unity and defence of the Empire as well as for his policy of getting them at least to recognise, if not to attend, the Council that the reform of abuses should be taken first. To reform the abuses of the papal court, however, would immediately reduce the revenues of the Holy See. When therefore Cardinal Madruzzo, on behalf of the Emperor pressed for precedence to be given to reform,² and the Spanish bishops insisted that reform should be taken seriously,³ the Legates found themselves in a position of extreme embarrassment. They were rescued by the ingenuity of Thomas Campeggio, Bishop of Feltre 1520-59, in Venetia. He proposed that doctrine and reform should be taken concurrently:⁴ a resolution which was carried, to the annoy-

¹ Pastor, xii. 250 sqq.

² On 18 January 1546. *Acta*, i 40.

³ "Nolle se in ea re deludi, quemadmodum in Concilio Pisano ab Alexandro V et in Constantiensi a Martino V patres delusi: qui Pontifices, aiebant illi (sc the Spaniards), Fidei dogmatibus confectis Synodum occluserunt, morum emendatione neglecta." Pallavicini, VI vu 14

⁴ *Acta*, i. 42

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ance of the Pope, but to the relief of the Legates, on 22 January 1546.

The procedure, in detail, was settled with less difficulty. "The whole Synod was divided into three classes, and the work of preparation was distributed between them. A preliminary discussion of each question, after it had been approved by the theologians and canonists, was to take place in the special congregation to which it was allotted. The matter was then to be further discussed in a General Congregation of the whole Synod; and, if approved, it was to be promulgated in a solemn Session of the Council. The rules of procedure being thus settled,"¹ the way was finally open for the main business of the assembly.

§ 3. The Rule of Faith was first considered; and, after the Council, in its third Session,² 4 February 1546, had re-affirmed the Nicene Creed as the "*Symbolum fidei quo sancta Romana ecclesia utitur*,"³ it proceeded, in the fourth Session, 8 April 1546, to deal with the important question of the sources of religious truth. They were defined as Scripture and Tradition; and it was laid down that these are of equal authority and are by the Church received "*pari pietatis affectu et reverentia*."⁴ As to the contents of Scripture, the traditional Canon, including the Apocrypha, was accepted. The Vulgate was to be taken for the authoritative text. It was for the Church alone to expound Scripture. And no books of Scripture were to be printed or published without the editor's name and the consent of the Ordinary.⁵

Of these decisions, the first, on the equal authority of Scripture and Tradition, was the most important. Its effect on the subsequent relations of Catholicism and Protestantism was decisive. It rendered reconciliation with the Protestants impossible: for their fundamental tenet was that the Bible, and the Bible only, is the religion of Protestants. A handful of "Lutheranising" prelates expressed some sympathy with this position. They were not more than "seven or eight,"⁶ and their spokesman was the Bishop of Chioggia. On 26 February he said that there was no need to refer to tradition, for the Scriptures contained all that pertained to

¹ *CMH*, ii. 665.

² *Acta*, i. 48.

³ *Can. et decr.*, 14.

⁴ *Can. et decr.*, 16.

⁵ *Ib.*, 17.

⁶ Sette o otto vescovi Lutheranissimi (11 January 1546): Merkle, i. 371.

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salvation;¹ while the Bishop of Astorga² complained that the Council had wasted a whole month over a question that presented no difficulty. Their opposition brought Cardinal Pole to his feet. "These prelates," he replied, "seem scarcely to understand the importance of the matter in hand. If they would only reflect how our religion as a whole is called in question, they would see that we were not spending time over nothing in urging the reception of Scripture and Tradition as well. The matter, indeed, is of such moment that nothing more serious could engage our attention. The Church is an army, drawn up for battle. She cannot proceed to the attack, until her equipment is complete. We have first to prepare our weapons, and then to engage the enemy. . . . Our beliefs, and our worship, in their entirety, depend upon Tradition."³ Pole carried his point: and it was he—for all his earlier "Lutheranism"—who on that day saw the point at issue, and rendered the gulf between Catholic and Protestant impassable. He saw too that all subsequent decisions of the Council must follow inevitably from the acceptance of this decree.

The Session which took this decision made provision only for minor reforms. This need hardly be matter for surprise. The Emperor was now bent not upon measures for conciliating the Protestants but upon their overthrow. He had allowed a conference at Ratisbon, 27 January 1546, to treat with them upon Justification; but only in order to gain time. War was at hand; and the death of Luther, 18 February, who had always resisted the appeal to arms, removed the last obstacle to it. In June, the Emperor acquired powerful allies. For, on the 19th, Duke Maurice of Albertine Saxony, went over to his cause, in the expectation of succeeding, as Elector, to Ernestine Saxony; and a week later, 26th June, the treaty of alliance between the

¹ *Acta*, i. 58b.

² *Ib*, 59a

³ *Ib*, i. 60; and *D.C.R.*, No 145. According to the Creed of Pope Pius IV, the tradition which governs the interpretation of Scripture is that which is "*juxta unanimum consensum Patrum*" (*Can et decr*, 227; *Mirbt*⁴, No. 480, p. 339, l. 37); but, according to the Council of Trent (*Can et decr.*, 17) and the Council of the Vatican "*nemini licere . . . contra unanimum consensum patrum Scripturam . . . interpretari*" (*Mirbt*⁴, No. 605, p. 457, l. 34). Thus "there may, apparently, be additions to their unanimous teaching, if they do not amount to contradictions." C. Gore, *The Holy Spirit in the Church*, p. 201.

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Emperor and the Pope was signed at Rome. The Protestants were well aware of the impending attack; and took the offensive. Their capable *condottiere*, Sebastian Schartlin von Burtenbach, led the troops of Ulm and Augsburg southward, and seized Füssen, 9 July. His road lay open through the Ehrenberg Pass to the valley of the Inn: and so, over the Brenner, to Trent. For the moment, alarm spread among the prelates at the Council.¹ But he retired on Augsburg, to join the main body. Charles retaliated by publishing the ban of the Empire, 20 July, against the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse. In October, Maurice joined Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, in proceeding to execute it. By December, Southern and Western Germany was in the Emperor's hands. In the spring, he himself took the field in the attack upon the north, which was led by the Duke of Alba. They advanced to the Elbe; and, 24 April 1547, finally defeated the Protestants at the battle of Mühlberg. The Elector and the Landgrave were both his prisoners; and he himself was, at last, master of the whole of Germany. Less than a month before, on 31 March 1547, by the death of his rival Francis I, it looked as if the Emperor was master of the situation in Europe as well.

§ 4. These events led to the withdrawal of the Council. But, meanwhile, in its fifth and sixth Sessions, it had taken advantage of the success of the Imperial arms to rule out two fundamental doctrines of Protestantism by decrees on Original Sin, 17 June 1546, and Justification, 13 January 1547: and at the same time to proceed to important measures of reform.

One of such reforms was to encourage and regulate preaching; by making bishops and clergy preach themselves, and by setting limits to the freedom enjoyed by Religious to preach where they pleased. This limitation gave rise to violent scenes. The bishops reproached the Religious with trying to escape canonical supervision and with spreading dangerous doctrine; while their opponents retaliated by saying that it was the neglect and secularity of the bishops which had forced the Regular clergy to undertake the task of preaching. Each side had something to say for itself; and the dispute, at length, was allayed by a *Decretum de*

¹ Massarelli, *Diarium III*, 15 July 1546 (Merkle, 1 560)

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*Reformation*¹ on Preachers and Pardoners. Bishops are required to preach, or provide a substitute. Parish priests must preach, at least, on Sundays and Holy Days. Regulars are not to preach, even in the churches of their Order without being first approved, in respect both of morals and of learning, by their superiors, nor without presenting themselves for the blessing of the bishop, before they begin their preaching. In other churches, they must have the licence of the bishop. Pardoners are not to preach at all. It is interesting to note the summary prohibition thus dealt out—but all too late—to the abuse from which the first outbreak of the Reformation took its rise.²

Reform, however, was not, at this moment, the main interest of the Pope. He desired to render the breach with the Protestants past healing: and now was the opportunity when the Emperor was pressing them hard. In a letter of 4 May 1546 to Cardinal Farnese the Legates informed him that Original Sin would be the doctrine to be settled at the next Session.³ The Imperial Ambassador objected; for Charles was not quite ready, as yet, to open his attack upon the Protestants. Accordingly, he caused a diversion to be made at the Council. It was already engaged upon the discussion of Original Sin, when his bishops and theologians endeavoured to divert attention from the main issue to its connexion with the Immaculate Conception of our Lady—whether she was thus free from Original Sin. The Franciscans, on this point, maintained the affirmative; the Dominicans took the negative view; and a long wrangle seemed inevitable. The Council, however, saw through the manœuvre: and refused to be drawn away from the main question. They framed a decree in such terms as to maintain the traditional doctrine; and, at the same time, to condemn the Protestant position. It maintained a Fall, and a change thereby in human nature for the worse.⁴ It taught that a taint is left, even in the baptised: which, however, is not sin but the consequence of sin, and inclining thereto.⁵ As to our Lady, the Synod contented itself with

¹ *Can. et decr.*, 23.

² *D.C.R.*, Nos. 6–10, 164.

³ J. Mendham, *Memoirs*, 68.

⁴ “In deterius commutatum”: *Decretum de Pecc Orig*, c. 1; *Can. et decr.*, 19.

⁵ “Ex peccato est et ad peccatum inclinatus,” c. 5; *ib.*, 20.

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declaring that it had no intention of including her in the discussion,¹ but merely deferred to the decisions of Sixtus IV, 1471-†84, on the subject.² He was a Franciscan: and had quieted down the controversy of his day, on a point that "had not yet been decided by the Roman Church and the Apostolic See."³ So saying, the Council left open the question of the Immaculate Conception for Pius IX, 1846-†78, to decide, in 1854:⁴ but its decree cut at the root of the Protestant doctrine of human nature as "wholly depraved." Protestants held it in order to be able to represent man as incapable of contributing to his own salvation: Calvin to render impossible any limitation of the Divine Election, and Luther to shut out human merit.

§ 5. Merit being thus in question, it was natural for the Council, in its sixth Session, to complete the repudiation of the first principles of Protestantism by proceeding to the doctrine of Justification by Faith.

On 17 November 1546 the Legates announced that they now intended to work for the formulation of a decree on Justification. But this was distasteful to the Emperor. By the mouth of the two Imperialist Cardinals, Madruzzo of Trent and Pacheco of Jaen, he replied, 20 December, that he wished it to be put off for the present, out of consideration for his interests in Germany. Del Monte, however, insisted on proceeding: and there was an exchange of asperities between him and Pacheco on more than one occasion. But the Imperialists were only sixteen in all; and by a majority of two-thirds—mostly Italian—the Legates, on 29 December, secured their point. They put off the question of residence, and fixed⁵ the next Session for 13 January 1547, when, as de' Nobili, Bishop of Accia in Corsica 1521-†47, had said at the very beginning, the axe was to be laid at the root of the Lutheran tree.⁶ The Emperor could not reasonably object. He was himself, at that very moment, doing with the sword what the Legates were now proposing to accomplish by decree.

The decree was long in preparation. On 21 June, Cervini

¹ So S. Aug., *De natura et gratia*, § 42.

² *Can et decr.*, 20.

³ "Nondum sit a Romana ecclesia et apostolica sede decisum," in *Grave nuntius* of 5 September 1483: Mirbt⁴, No. 407.

⁴ *Ineffabilis Deus* of 8 December 1854: Mirbt⁴, No. 596.

⁵ *Acta*, i. 346.

⁶ *Pastor*, xii. 340.

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addressed the assembly on Justification. Supported by Pole, he represented to the Fathers the great importance of the subject; reminded them that no preceding Council had dealt with it fully; and that Luther's doctrine of justification by faith only was at the root of most of his errors on the sacraments, the power of the keys, and even on indulgences and purgatory.¹ Next day, the subject was discussed by the theologians; and then passed on to the bishops, 30 June, for further consideration. The long debates were occasionally enlivened by exciting scenes. On 17 July, for instance, San Felice, Bishop of La Cava² 1520-†50, pronounced so openly for the doctrine of justification by faith only as to rouse to fury one of the *ultras* of orthodoxy, Zannetini, Bishop of Chironia 1538-†48, in Crete. "What's that you say?" asked the Bishop of La Cava. "I say," was the reply, "that your lordship cannot be acquitted either of arrogance or of ignorance." "Whereupon," records the secretary, "the Bishop of La Cava seized the beard of the Bishop of Chironia with both hands, and plucked out several hairs, without saying a word."³ The debates, however, continued: and turned, at length, on the difference between two Justifications—inherent and imputed: until the theologians, 15-26 October, under the influence of Lainez, rejected the latter by a vote of 32 to 5. As this was the Protestant doctrine of Justification, the breach was now rendered final. No decision, however, was taken upon a second tenet of theirs—final assurance of salvation in the justified. Del Monte called attention to this, 17 December: and desired that it might be passed over. He was opposed by Pacheco, who wanted it excluded. In the end, the Legate carried his point, by 33 to 16;⁴ and "the article on final assurance was dropped, the Council having to restrict its decisions to publicly pronounced errors only."

At last, in Session VI, 13 January 1547, the decisions on Justification were promulgated. The Session was attended by two Legates, two Cardinals, ten Archbishops, forty-seven⁵ Bishops, two Proctors, five Generals of Orders, and two Abbots: and the decisions were embodied in a decree

¹ *Acta*, i. 156; Waterworth, *Co. of Trent* (2), ci

² Between Naples and Salerno.

³ *Acta*, i. 192.

⁴ *Ib.*, 336.

⁵ *Ib.*, i. 381, says "forty-two"; Pastor says "forty-seven."

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of sixteen chapters, amplified and protected by thirty-three canons.¹ "It is a masterpiece of theology," writes Pastor, "formulating with clearness and precision the standard of Catholic truths as distinguished from Pelagian error on the one hand and Protestant on the other";² while Harnack speaks of it as "'in many respects admirably worked out'"³ and even goes so far as to assert that it may be doubted whether the Reformation would have developed as it did, if this decree "had been in existence to start with."⁴

We must therefore describe it. "Starting from the axiom," says Pastor, "that neither the heathen by their natural powers nor the Jews by the Mosaic Law⁵ are capable of . . . reaching a state of grace and of adoption⁶ as children of God," the decree first of all insists that Christ alone is the salvation of the world through the communication of the merits of His sufferings,⁷ and that only for those who believe in Him and have been born again in Him by baptism.⁸ In adults, justification has its beginning in the calling of God through prevenient grace,⁹ without any supernatural merit on the part of man. The latter can resist grace or co-operate with it. In both cases, there is the exercise of free-will, but the co-operation is also conditioned by grace.¹⁰

With Justification, man not merely receives the forgiveness of sins but is also inwardly sanctified. This renewal¹¹ is not merely imputed, as something adhering to the man from without, but is a deep inward process fundamentally transforming the soul.

Faith, however, is not alone sufficient for Justification. It must be accompanied by hope and love; and, as the Scripture says, faith certainly must work by love, since faith without works is dead.¹² Faith working by love, in a constant state of grace, through the following of the commandments of God and the Church, results in a continual advance from virtue to virtue.

In opposition to the Protestant assertion of an absolute

¹ *Can. et decr.*, 25 sqq.

² Pastor, xii. 344; anti-Pelagian are Canons 1-3, 23; anti-Protestant are Canons 4, 5, 9, 11, 12, 14, 15, 17 (predestination and reprobation). 19, 20, 29 (solifidianism): *Can. et decr.*, 35 sqq.

³ *Dogmengeschichte*, iii. 605.

⁵ *Decr.*, c. i. and canon 1.

⁷ *Ib.*, c. ii.

¹⁰ *Ib.*

⁸ *Ib.*, c. iii.

¹¹ *Ib.*, c. vii.

⁴ Pastor, xii. 344 n.

⁶ *Ib.*, c. iv.

⁹ *Ib.*, c. v.

¹² *Ib.*

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assurance of salvation, it was laid down as Catholic doctrine¹ "that no one in this life can fathom the secret of his predestination by God and, apart from a special revelation, know of a certainty that he is of the number of the elect."²

A *decretum de Reformatione*³ accompanied the doctrinal decisions of Session VI. It consists of five chapters. C. 1 renews the ancient canons against non-residence of bishops. If absent for six months without cause, they are to forfeit a fourth part of the revenue of the see. C. 2 requires the Ordinaries to compel the residence of the clergy upon their cures: though, for reasonable cause and acting in this matter as delegates of the Apostolic See, they may grant dispensations. C. 3 orders ecclesiastical superiors to correct their subjects: no secular cleric, by reason of any personal privilege, and no regular living out of his monastery is exempt from the visitation of the bishop: who, however, acts in this case again as delegate of the Apostolic See. C. 4 enacts that Chapters are no longer to be exempt from visitation by the bishop or the metropolitan; and, by c. 5, no bishop under pain of suspension may exercise his office, without permission, in the diocese of another.

These measures of reform went but a small way. By sacrificing half a year's income, an absentee bishop could get a year's holiday; leave his diocese to a deputy; and retire permanently on half-pay.⁴ It was easy for the holder of a benefice to invent "reasonable causes" for absence; and such improvement as was effected was gained at the sacrifice of episcopal authority; for bishops could only enforce discipline, in such matters, as "delegates of the Apostolic See."⁵ The real question at issue, viz., whether residence is obligatory on a bishop *jure divino*, was shelved.⁶ Nothing, again, was said about pluralism or the offences of Cardinals. It was left to the Pope. Paul III played his part by requiring all Cardinal pluralists to give up all their sees, except one, within six months.⁷ But nothing

¹ *Decr.*, c. xii.

² Pastor, xii 345.

³ *Can. et decr.*, 39-41; Waterworth, cviii.

⁴ Quod si per alios sex menses in hujusmodi absentia perseveraverit, aliam quartam partem fructuum . . . eo ipso amittat, c. 1.

⁵ Tanquam in hac parte a sede apostolica delegatorum, c. 2

⁶ Philippson, 346.

⁷ In a consistorial decree of 18 February 1547, given in *Acta*, i. 454.

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came of it. The Cardinals continued to heap up to themselves benefices; and, though some gave up their sees, they retained so many pensions and reservations upon them, that their pecuniary losses were small.¹

§ 6. The First Assembly at Trent was now near its close; for events were rapidly moving towards the translation of the Council to Bologna. But important decisions were taken on the doctrine of the Sacraments, at Session VII of 3 March 1547, before the decree of removal was voted, 11 March, at Session VIII.

On 15 January del Monte proposed, as the subjects of the seventh Session, the doctrine of the Sacraments; while, as to reform, further debate would be held on episcopal residence and the difficulties connected therewith.² On the 17th, Cervini distributed among the theologians a summary of the points to be considered in the decree: viz., 14 errors concerning the Sacraments in General, 17 concerning Baptism, and 4 concerning Confirmation.³ They were referred for division to, and discussed by, a General Congregation, 8-21 February; and, as finally issued, they took shape in a preface and thirty canons, 13 on the Sacraments in General, 14 on Baptism, and 3 on Confirmation.⁴ As to Sacraments in General, it is affirmed that they are seven in number,⁵ but not all of equal rank.⁶ They are necessary to salvation, though all are not necessary to every man.⁷ They contain the grace that they signify,⁸ and confer it *ex opere operato*; ⁹ which means not that they operate mechanically or like magic, but that they are what they are not *ex opere operantis* but in virtue of Christ's institution and promise.¹⁰ Three of them—Baptism, Confirmation and Holy Orders—confer indelible character,¹¹ and therefore may not be repeated.¹² A priest is ordinarily required for

¹ Philippon, 344.

² *Acta*, i. 382.

³ *Ib.*, 383-5.

⁴ *Can. et decr.*, 42-5; Waterworth, cxii.-cxiv.

⁵ C. i.

⁶ C. iii.

⁷ C. iv.

⁸ C. vi.

⁹ C. viii.

¹⁰ R. W. Dixon, *Hist. of C. of E.*, iii. 524 n.

¹¹ By these sacraments, we have impressed upon our souls a mark, or character, which St Augustine compares to the *nota militaris*, or mark, branded upon a soldier's hand at his enlistment, which is therefore indelible: see Aug., *Contra Epist. Parmen.*, ii. §§ 28, 29; *Ep.*, cxxxv. c. 23; cf. Gal. v. 17, Vegetius, *Epitoma rei militaris*, i. 8; ii. 5; and Hooker, *E.P.*, V. lxxvii. § 3.

¹² *Can. et decr.*, 43, C. ix.

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the administration of Sacraments,¹ and the celebrant must have the intention at least of doing what the Church does.² As to Baptism, Christian Baptism is more than John's;³ it must be of water⁴ and in the threefold Name;⁵ and it is necessary to salvation.⁶ Confirmation is no "otiose ceremony" nor a mere occasion for young people to give account of their faith.⁷ Its "ordinary minister" is the bishop.⁸

Side by side with these dogmatic enactments, there was prepared, under the presidency of del Monte,⁹ a decree on reform. It took final shape 26-28 February;¹⁰ and, in fifteen chapters, dealt with the qualifications of nominees to bishoprics, the visitation of sees, the maintenance and repair of churches, the powers of the Cathedral Chapter during the vacancy of a see, the care of hospitals and the legal position of ecclesiastics: the combination of bishoprics and benefices in one person was made matter of special prohibition.¹¹ These, and others, were excellent prescriptions. But the Legates had permission to preface the whole series with the qualification *salva semper in omnibus sedis apostolicæ auctoritate*.¹² They had therefore left the door wide open to all the abuses of the Curia, particularly by omitting to declare that episcopal residence is of divine obligation. Thus the Pope might still dispense; and all the evils of pluralities and absenteeism go on unchecked.

§ 7. The translation of the Council was now at hand. Provision had been made for it by a papal brief addressed to the Legates, as far back as 22 February 1545;¹³ for it had been foreseen that the Emperor's influence at Trent might at any time become embarrassing. The maintenance of the Council depended all along upon co-operation between the Pope and the Emperor. But Charles was now deeply offended with Paul III. The latter had withdrawn the papal contingent¹⁴ from the Imperial forces in Germany,

¹ C. x., *Can. et decr.*, 43.

² C. xi. The object of this canon was to condemn Luther's opinion, which flows from his doctrine of Justification by Faith only, that the sacrament is valid though administered in jest

³ De Bapt., c. 1., *Can. et decr.*, p. 44.

⁴ C. ii.

⁵ C. iv.

⁶ C. v.

⁷ De Conf., c. i.

⁸ C. iii.

⁹ *Acta*, i. 385.

¹⁰ *Acta*, i. 456-8.

¹¹ *Can. et decr.*, 46-50

¹² *Ib.*, 46

¹³ *Acta*, i. 19: repeated 1 August 1546, *Pastor*, xii. 310.

¹⁴ By a brief of 22 January 1546: *Pastor*, xii. 329.

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just when they were advancing to the Elbe, after the conquest of the Danube; and Charles was annoyed not only with the slight attention paid by the Council to the reform of abuses but with the Farnese in Italy. Pier Luigi Farnese, the Pope's son, was Duke of Parma and Piacenza;¹ but had never been recognised by the Emperor. In April 1546 Charles appointed Ferrante Gonzaga to be Viceroy of Milan.² He was a bitter opponent of the Farnese; and, as Pier Luigi, in order to counteract the hostility of the Imperialists, attached himself to France, Gonzaga urged his master to put an end to the situation by expelling him from his duchies. The Emperor acquiesced, but on condition that the Duke's life should not be endangered.³ The tension ended by the assassination of Paul III's son,⁴ 10 September 1547. But six months earlier the translation of the Council had been effected. A pretext was found in the outbreak of an epidemic at Trent; which caused the death, 6 March 1547, of Enrico Loffredi,⁵ Bishop of Capaccio 1531-1547, a town in Campania, to the south of Naples, near the Gulf of Salerno. Taking doctors' opinion, the Legates communicated it to the Council, 10 March, and advised translation. The Pope had been prepared for this move: but wisely insisted that the translation must take place not in compliance with orders from himself but by vote of the Council, lest it should be said that the Council was not free. The bishops were then hastily summoned to Session VIII,⁶ on 11 March; and voted the translation to Bologna, by 38 to 14.⁷ The Legates left Trent next day; and Paul III signified his approval on 23 March.⁸

Thus the First Assembly of Trent came to an end. The Emperor was indignant, and ordered his prelates to remain. They stayed on in Trent, to the number of fourteen.⁹ No

¹ By a Bull of 26 August 1545: Pastor, xii. 232, who speaks of "the scandalous unconcern with which Paul III indulged his nepotistic instincts."

² Pastor, xii. 321.

³ *Ib.*, 371.

⁴ *Ib.*, 372.

⁵ Mendham, 118.

⁶ *Can. et decr.*, 52.

⁷ Pastor, xii. 353, n. 2.

⁸ Pastor, 355, n. 5.

⁹ Of these, there was one from N. Italy (the Bishop of Fiesole), two from Sardinia, three from S. Italy, two from Sicily, and six from Spain—all under the leadership of Cardinal Pacheco, Bishop of Jaen, 1545-54. Pastor, xii. 355. For their names, see Massarelli, *Diarium IV* (12 April): ed. Merkle, 1. 638.

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serious reform had been effected: but, while the Emperor had defeated the Protestants in the field, the Council had condemned their fundamental doctrines. The breach between Catholic and Protestant thus became irreparable; and the Council, if it ever met again, could, under the most favourable circumstances, eventuate only in a reformed and revitalised Roman Catholic Church.

§ 8. The Second Assembly of Trent¹ included six Sessions, and covered the years 1551-2. On the transference to Bologna, the Emperor felt that he must take in hand the reform of the Church and re-union in Germany by himself. He accordingly put out the *Interim*,² 15 May 1548, a formula of twenty-six chapters intended to provide for a temporary accommodation until a Council should meet which all could accept. It allowed communion in both kinds and the marriage of the clergy, and so displeased the Catholics. On the other hand it sanctioned the retention of much of the old worship, and so proved equally distasteful to the Protestants. Endeavouring to impose it by force of arms, the Emperor found at last that he could make no progress towards religious unity in Germany without the support of the Pope. On the death of Paul III, 10 November 1549, del Monte came out of the conclave as Julius III, 1550-†5. He desired, above all things, to live at ease—if it might be in the Villa di Papa Giulio³ which he built, to the north of the Porta del Popolo. But the only way to do this was to fall in with the policy of the still powerful Emperor. This meant the resumption of the Council. But no important work was done by it, except the decrees and canons on the Eucharist, Penance and Extreme Unction, which were put out in Sessions XIII and XIV, of 11 October and 15 November 1551. At first the prelates could not get to work, because the Emperor was supporting the Pope in a war against Ottavio Farnese, backed by Henry II of France, for the possession of Parma.⁴ Henry denounced the Council, 1 September 1551, as a *conventus*; ⁵ while the Protestants manifested great reluctance to go to what they called a *conventus malignantium*⁶ or “gathering together of the

¹ Philippson, 358 *sqq.*

² Pastor, xii. 338 *sqq.*

³ *Ib.*, 106, and *Acta*, i. 487.

⁴ D.C.R., No. 148.

⁵ Pastor, xii. 129 *sqq.*

⁶ Sarpi, 300.

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froward.”¹ But they attended, though only to present,² 24 January 1552, the *Confessio Wirtembergensis*³ and Melancthon’s *Confessio Saxonica*⁴ which was no more than a “repetition of the Confession of Augsburg.” These, and other events, were disconcerting to the Pope; and, afraid of his too powerful patron, so anxious to thrust the Protestants upon his attention, Julius III drew off, April 1552, into secret alliance with Henry.⁵ A similar alliance had been made, 15 January 1552, by the Treaty of Chambord⁶ or Friedwald⁷ (for it was signed at each place) between Maurice, in company with other German princes, and Henry of France. By this pact, the French-speaking cities of Metz, Toul and Verdun, known as the Three Bishoprics, and Cambrai were to be ruled henceforth by Henry as Imperial Vicar; while Henry gave himself out as “Defender of the liberties of Germany and of its captive Princes” against the Emperor. For Charles was now unpopular in Germany as the enemy of its freedom as well as of its religion: and, when Henry and Maurice took the field together, they had an easy task. Henry seized the three Bishoprics and entered Metz in April 1552. Maurice, meanwhile, seized Augsburg, 4 April; and, in pursuit of the Emperor, now at Innsbruck, was within an ace of capturing him, if it had not been for a mutiny among his troops in the pass of the Ehrenberg. Charles was thus enabled, 19 May, to make good his escape to Villach, in Carinthia. But his power was gone. The Council, which he had re-assembled and retained at Trent, just melted away; and, 28 April, was formally suspended for two years.⁸ But ten years elapsed before it met again: and then under conditions entirely new.

¹ Ps, lxxv 2

² *Acta*, i 648 sq. Their *libellus* is printed in Le Plat, IV. 460-3.

³ Le Plat, IV 420-60 “Although designed for the single state of Württemberg, it will be found to be a mere compendium of the *Repetitio Confessionis Augustanae*, or *Confessio Saxonica*.” Hardwick, *Articles*, 124, n. 5 It was the work of Johann Brenz, the reformer of Württemberg, 1499-1500 and is of interest to us because of its influence on the *Articles* of 1563: see my *Articles*, i p. 40

⁴ F. Francke, *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Lutheranae*, App., 69-116.

⁵ Pastoi, xiii. 138

⁶ A château built by Francis I, between 1526-36, near Blois, on the Loire.

⁷ In Hesse-Nassau

⁸ At Session XVI; *Can. et decr.*, 96.

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§ 9. Nevertheless, it left some valuable work behind it, in the chapters and canons on the Eucharist, Penance and Unction, of Sessions XIII.—XIV. 11 and 25 October 1551.

The subject of the Eucharist was first introduced at Trent, 31 January 1547, in ten articles¹ collected from the writings of heretics, and discussed at intervals till 7 March.² After the translation to Bologna, the Legates, 2 September 1551, submitted these articles again, much in the same form.³ They were repeatedly discussed for the next two months. At last, a draft was finally agreed to, 10 October; and published at Session XIII, 11 October 1551.⁴

In order to appreciate the doctrine asserted in these chapters and canons, we must bear in mind that there were three main types of heretical opinions in the Eucharist which they were intended to exclude.

¹ The ten articles (*Acta*, i 406) are :—

- (1) In Eucharistia non esse revera corpus et sanguinem D N I C ; sed tantum ut in signo, sicut vinum dicitur esse in circulo ante tabernam . . . Hic est error Zvinglii Oecolampadii et Sacramentariorum
- (2) Exhiberi in eucharistia Christum, sed spiritualiter tantum manducandum per fidem . . . Hic est error suprascriptionum haereticorum.
- (3) In Eucharistia esse quidem corpus et sanguinem D N I C , sed simul cum substantia panis et vini ; ita ut non sit transubstantiatio sed unio hypostatica humanitatis et substantiae panis et vini —Lutherus. . .
- (4) Christum in eucharistia non esse adorandum. . . Lutherus.
- (5) Non esse reservandam eucharistiam in sacrario ; sed statim consumendam, et praesentibus dandam ; et aliter facientes abuti hoc sacramento.
- (6) In hostiis seu particulis consecratis post communionem remanentibus non remanere corpus domini, sed tantum ibi esse dum sumitur, non autem ante vel post sumpcionem. . . . Lutherus.
- (7) De jure divino esse, sub utraque specie etiam populum communicari
- (8) Non contineri sub altera specie quantum sub utraque continetur. . . .
- (9) Solam fidem esse sufficientem praeparationem ad sumendam eucharistiam : neque tenei homines ad communionem in paschate.
- (10) Non licere ut quis se ipsum communique —Hic est error eorundem haereticorum

² The articles of 7 March 1547 are in slightly different form. see *Acta*, i 466-7

³ Those of 2 September 1551 go back to the draft of 31 January 1547 : see *Acta*, i. 488 sq.

⁴ *Can. et decr.*, 58 sqq.

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There was, first, the view of Luther. He wished to retain sacramentalism without sacerdotalism, or the presence without the priest: and repudiated the sacrificial character of the Eucharist while steadfastly clinging to belief in a real, and even corporal, presence. After consecration, he held, the bread and the Body of our Lord exist side by side¹ in the sacrament; but only for reception and not afterwards.² Hence he rejected both reservation³ and adoration⁴ in the sacrament, because there was nothing either to reserve or to adore.

Opposed to the sacramentalism of Luther was the sacramentarianism of Zwingli. He denied the presence; said that the signs or sacraments were *signa Christi absentis*; and that in the Eucharist the body and blood are present not really but symbolically, "just as wine is said to be in the [sign of] the hoop before an inn."⁵

Midway between the real presence of Luther and the real absence of Zwingli, stood the doctrine held by Calvin of a virtual presence. As against Luther, it agrees with the Council in saying that what we receive is not simply the glorified human nature⁶ of Christ, but whole Christ, God and man. As against Zwingli, it agrees with Trent and Luther in affirming a presence; but it differs from both in regarding it as dependent not on consecration (for Calvin, like Luther, wanted to get rid of the priest) but on communion, and treating it as a presence not of the *res sacramenti* but of the *virtus sacramenti* only.⁷ Its favourite terms therefore were *virtualiter* as opposed to *realiter*; and *spiritualiter*, as opposed not to *carnaliter*⁸ or *corporaliter*, but to *sacramentaliter*.

The Council had to take note of these heretical tendencies, and to rule them out. But it did not concern itself with the disputes of the Schools: ⁹ as, for example, with the difference

¹ Simul cum, Art. 3.

² Art. 6.

³ Art. 5.

⁴ Art. 4.

⁵ Art. 1.

⁶ Art. 3.

⁷ For the distinction between the *signum*, the *res*, and the *virtus*, cf. the English Catechism, "outward sign," "thing signified," "benefit received."

⁸ This is the scriptural antithesis. see note 15 in W. Milligan, *Resurrection of our Lord*, p. 256. "The antithesis of Scripture is not that of the spiritual and the bodily, but that of the spiritual and the carnal."

⁹ The Legate, Cardinal Crescenzi, said 21 September 1551: "Concilium satis est ut haereses damnet, in quo plurimum elaborandum restat non

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between "substance" and "accidents." Indeed, it makes no mention of "accidents," but only of *species*: and uses "substance," as does the creed of Nicaea, in the current sense to mean reality (*substantia*) as distinct from appearance (*species*).¹

We are now in a position to observe what doctrine the dogmatic Chapters on the Eucharist affirm, and what errors the Canons that follow repudiate. "It was decided that after the consecration of the elements our Lord Jesus Christ, very God and very man, is verily, really and substantially contained under the species of bread and wine";² that the Eucharist is unique among sacraments in this that, whereas other sacraments only begin to have sanctifying power at the moment of reception, in the Eucharist the Author of sanctification is Himself present before reception;³ that each element contains the same as both together do;⁴ that in the consecration of these elements there is a conversion of the whole substance of the bread into the substance of Christ's body, and a conversion of the whole substance of the wine into the substance of His blood, so as to justify the use of the term Transubstantiation;⁵ that the highest form of worship (*latría*) is therefore rendered by the faithful to the sacrament of the altar.⁶ With respect to the communicants, it is decided that no man who is conscious of deadly sin should approach the Holy Eucharist without previous confession and absolution;⁷ and that, while even the impenitent receive Christ sacramentally, and those who communicate in will receive Him spiritually, the highest order of communicant is he who receives both sacramentally

autem omnes scholasticas disputationes decidat" (*Acta*, i. 502). So also Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada (*ib.*, 504), and Alepius, Archbishop of Sassari in Sardinia (*ib.*, 504B). On this important point see also P. Batiffol, *Études d'Histoire et de Théologie Positive* (8), ii. 485 sq.

¹ *ib.*, 496.

² Vere, realiter ac substantialiter sub specie illarum rerum sensibilium contineri. *Decr.*, c. i. (*Can. et decr.*, 59).

³ *Decr.*, c. iii. (*ib.*, p. 60).

⁴ Vi naturalis illius . . . concomitantiae qua partes Christi inter se copulantur, c. iii (*ib.*, 60).

⁵ C. iv. (*ib.*, 61). This definition of Transubstantiation was a great improvement on the definition of the Co of the Lateran, 1215 (Cap. i., *De fide Catholica*) in Denzinger-Bannwart, *Enchiridion*¹⁴⁻¹⁵, No 430.

⁶ *Decr.*, c. v. (*Can. et decr.*, 61).

⁷ *Decr.*, c. vii. (*ib.*, 62).

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and spiritually, in faith, and will, and act.¹ This decree, extending to eight chapters, is accompanied by eleven canons which anathematise the Lutheran² and Calvinistic³ tenets, as well as the more lax hypothesis of Zwingli⁴ and the aberrations of Anabaptism."⁵

Discussions on the sacrament of Penance first began at Bologna on 25 March 1547, when fourteen articles on the subject, extracted from the writings of the Protestants, were submitted to the Council.⁶ They eventually bore fruit in the decrees and canons of Session XIV, 25 November 1551.⁷ Here it is maintained that "the sacrament of Penance was instituted by our Lord Himself;⁸ that in its nature and design it is distinct from baptism;⁹ that it is composed of three parts, or acts, contrition, confession and" satisfaction;¹⁰ "that in it the priest is empowered to exercise the functions of a judge¹¹ . . . and further that the outward part or sign of the sacrament is contained in words by which the sentence of absolution is pronounced.¹² It had been previously determined that contrition, which is necessary to the efficacy of this sacrament, consists of inward sorrow and abhorrence of the sin committed, coupled with the resolve to sin no more; yet that even the imperfect stage of it, which the scholastics termed attrition, as arising merely from the natural sense of shame or servile dread of punishment, may, where it operates in excluding the wish to sin, be welcomed as a gift of God, and may 'dispose' the sinner to obtain forgiveness through the sacrament of penance.¹³ It is also granted that satisfaction, or those penalties for sin imposed on the offender . . . in order to avoid its temporal consequence, is only made availing through the sacrifice of Christ. . . ." ¹⁴ After fifteen canons, intended to shut out the errors opposed to this teaching,¹⁵

¹ *Decr.*, c. viii.—Where note also the stress on frequent communion (frequenter suscipere), *Can. et decr.*, p. 63

² *Can.*, ii and iv., *ib.*, p. 62

³ *Tantummodo virtute*, *Can.*, i.

⁴ *Tantummodo ut in signo, vel figura*, *ib.*

⁵ C. Hardwick, *The Reformation*, 288 sq.

⁶ Mendham, 121. They were re-submitted 15 October 1551: and are given in *Acta* i. 531 sq.

⁷ *Can. et decr.*, 70 sqq.

⁸ C. i. ⁹ C. ii.

¹⁰ C. iii.

¹¹ C. vi.

¹² *Ego te absolvo*, etc., c. iii.

¹³ C. iv.

¹⁴ C. viii.: Hardwick, *Ref.* 289 sq.

¹⁵ *Can. et decr.*, 82 sqq.

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the sacrament of Extreme Unction is defined in three chapters, and protected in the same way.¹ Its institution is traced to our Lord,² whose disciples "anointed with oil many that were sick,"³ and to the direction given by St James.⁴ The "matter" of the sacrament is oil blessed by the bishop, and its "form" the words *Per istam unctionem*, etc.⁵ Its effect is the forgiveness of sins and sometimes the restoration of health to the body, where the health of the soul requires it.⁶ Its minister is the presbyter: and its subject the sick, especially those who are dangerously ill. Hence its name: *sacramentum exeuntium*.⁷ The Council makes no comment on the meaning of Extreme Unction: and was probably unaware of the way in which *extrema unctio* or the last of several unctions which a Christian received—at baptism, at confirmation, and in sickness—came to mean *unctio in extremis*.⁸

§ 10. The third, and final, assembly of the Council of Trent⁹ is that which covered Sessions XVII–XXV, and lasted from 18 January 1562 to 4 December 1563.

By the year 1560 most of the personages who had long sustained the principal parts in Europe were changed. They disappeared about the same time. The Emperor, Charles V, resigned his crowns, one by one, and died 21 September 1558. His removal inaugurated an era of peace, which was finally established by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis,¹⁰ 3 April 1559, between Spain and France. When Henry II of France was about to carry out its terms, his life was cut short by a singular and tragical accident, 29 June 1559. Mary of England had died in the previous autumn, 17 November 1558: while Paul IV ended his violent and imperious pontificate just a few months later, 18 August 1559.

Whatever the real aims of the new rulers, they were restrained from pursuing them to the disturbance of the new peace. Their resources were exhausted. Their attention was occupied by home problems. The balance of

¹ *Can. et decr.*, 80 sqq. 85.

² C. i.

³ Mark vi. 13.

⁴ Jas v. 14 sq.

⁵ C. i

⁶ C. ii.

⁷ C. iii.

⁸ But this theory of the origin of the name is doubtful, see *Cath. Enc.*, v. 716.

⁹ Philippson, 419 sqq.; *C.M.H.*, ii. 674 sqq.

¹⁰ Le Cateau, or Cateau-Cambrésis, lies 15 m. E.S.E. of Cambrai; and is so called from the castle built there c. 1000 by Herluin, Bishop of Cambrai.

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power stood at an equipoise. Thus Philip II of Spain and Henry II of France confessed their weariness of strife by joining in the peace. Upon Henry's death, the attention of France was taken up with internal concerns. Huguenotism¹ was rising there, and making a party among the nobles. For the moment, the family of Guise,² upstart and Catholic, was in power: and they remained so, till the death of Francis II, 5 December 1560. But the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medici †1589, had been watching her opportunity: and seized it upon the accession of Charles IX, 1560-†74. Elizabeth of England, 1558-†1603, was securing her newly won throne. The Emperor Ferdinand I, 1556-†64, had no wish to disturb the religious toleration enjoyed in Germany, since the Peace of Augsburg, 1555. Europe, for the time being, was at peace.

There was an equally remarkable change in the religious situation: for ten years had made a great difference. Thus, first, all ideas or hopes of conciliation were given up. A generation had grown up in Protestantism, wholly devoid of traditional sympathy with the life and worship of the Catholic Church, and nurtured in principles violently opposed to it. On the other hand, the dogmas of the First Assembly at Trent had had time to take root among Catholics. Secondly, conciliation itself had become impossible. Lutheranism in Germany, Anglicanism in England, Calvinism in Geneva, each now held a secure position. In France, the Huguenots held the balance of power, and almost forced on the separation of the Gallican Church. The Roman Church, in the third place, had adopted a new policy. She was going to win back her losses by other means than the Council, viz., by the Jesuits. Already, they had numbers, strength and unity of purpose, which would enable them to triumph over Protestantism with its increasing divisions. No concessions need be made. Only fight Protestantism with its own weapons—preaching, education and reform: and all would in time be won.

This situation reacted upon the character of the Council.

¹ D.C.R., Nos. 323-30.

² Claude, first Duke of Guise (second son of René II, Duke of Lorraine), †1550, had six sons. (1) Francis, second Duke of Guise †1563, (2) Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine †1574, (4) Louis, Cardinal of Guise †1578, and a daughter Marie=James V of Scotland, whose daughter was Mary Queen of Scots and Queen of Francis II of France, 1559-†60.

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In its new phase, it would have to concern itself solely with the reform of the Roman Catholic Church. No need now for reconciliation, or concession. The only business in hand was, whether by definition of doctrine or by removal of abuses, to fit the Church once more to take the field

§ 11. The renewal of the Council was the work of Pius IV,¹ 1559-†65. Gian Angelo de' Medici was born in 1499. He did not belong to the Medici of Florence, but was the son of Bernardino de' Medici, a notary in Milan, and his wife Cecilia Serbelloni. His elder brother, Giangiaco-
mo, was the author of his fortunes. For, after having taken service with the Emperor and receiving the title of Marquis of Marignano, he introduced his brother, now a man of some reputation as a jurist, to the notice of Paul III. Paul made him a Cardinal, 8 April 1549, and gave him his confidence. Under Paul IV he thought it wise to leave Rome—and it was probably because of those very qualities which marked him off from his predecessor that Cardinal Medici came out of the conclave, 25 December 1559, as Pius IV.

His first steps were judicious and conciliatory. In accordance with the promise which he had given at the conclave to re-assemble the Council, if elected, he summoned it, 29 November 1560, to meet at Trent on 8 April 1561.² He took summary vengeance on the nephews of Paul IV;³ and the old days of nepotism⁴ departed for ever with the rise to power of St Charles Borromeo,⁵ 1538-†84, the nephew and minister of Pius IV. He made it his first aim to maintain intact the prerogatives of the Holy See; but this was compatible, in his mind, not only with a thorough reform of the Church but with a friendly attitude towards princes. He had the rare judgment to see that, upon the removal of the mighty Emperor Charles V, with his constant efforts to make himself paramount over the Holy See by means of the Council, all danger from the Council was gone. It only needed that he should win the

¹ *Pastor*, xv., xvi ; *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 129.

² *Can. et decr.*, 97 sqq.

³ *Pastor*, xv. 131 sqq.

⁴ "The nephews of Paul IV were the last who aspired to independent principalities, and excited general commotions for the furtherance of their own purposes in politics." Ranke, i. 154.

⁵ *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 619 sqq.

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co-operation of the Catholic monarchs. Other Popes, especially Paul IV, had thought it the first duty of the spiritual power to trample upon the temporal. Pius reversed this policy: and deliberately abandoned it for one which used kings by co-operating with them. By thus detaching them from each other and from their representatives at the Council and by severing the bishops from their sovereigns, Pius IV triumphed over the Council, and made it the means of strengthening the Church and subserving his will.

But there were difficulties within the Council to overcome. In this third Assembly the Italians preponderated more than ever: but the interest of its proceedings centres, at any rate at first, upon the Spaniards. Led by Pedro Guerrero, Archbishop of Granada, 1546-176, they were isolated and few in number. But they displayed a firmness and resolution which, coupled with their orthodoxy and austerity, secured them an influence out of proportion to their numerical strength. Guerrero assembled them in private to deliberate and form a common policy upon each point as it arose. This policy was guided by two principles: (1) the Episcopate and the Council to be rendered independent of the Pope, who was to have a primacy but of honour only, and (2) no change in doctrine or worship. They were supported by Philip II who did not scruple, on the latter point, to oppose his uncle the Emperor Ferdinand I. But the Spaniards could not indefinitely maintain their stand for traditional doctrine, in common with the Italians, while quarrelling with the Pope about his authority; nor their zeal for the reform of abuses, in common with the Emperor and the French, while refusing them the concessions which they desired—communion in both kinds for the laity and clerical marriage. Ultimately victory passed to the Curia. Pius IV himself detached France from the opposition, by showering attentions upon the Cardinal of Lorraine: while, by sending Cardinal Morone to Innsbruck, he won over the Emperor as well.

§ 12. But for the present, in Sessions XVIII-XXII, February-September 1562, the struggle between curialists and ultramontanes was sharply contested. It centred round five points: (1) Whether the Council was a continuation, or otherwise, of the First and Second Assemblies of Trent; (2) the conduct of business; (3) the *Index*; (4) the question

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of Residence, and of (5) the restoration of the chalice to the laity.

(1) *The Continuation*.—Philip II had already enforced the previous decrees of Trent throughout his Spanish dominions. If any of them should be repeated or recast, his authority would be discredited among his subjects. Hence he had refused consent to the Council until assured by Pius IV that the Council should be declared to be the continuation of the earlier assemblies. The Legates,¹ however, were more prudent than the Pope. They knew that the peace of Germany and France, and therefore the goodwill of the Emperor and the King towards the Council, depended on keeping the continuation in the background; and that the credit of the Council for conciliatoriness was at stake, even though reconciliation was out of the question. They therefore opposed a declaration; and succeeded in satisfying the Spaniards by saying that, though the word "continuation" had been purposely omitted from the *Bulla celebrationis* in order to avoid exasperating the Protestants, the Pope fully meant continuance. In fact, though not in word, the Council was a continuation of its earlier Sessions. Their decisions were taken for granted, and there was no danger of their being re-opened.

(2) *The Conduct of Business*.—The Legates had fixed 1 January 1562 for the opening of the Council, but were obliged to postpone it till 18 January. The first General Congregation was held 15 January; and meanwhile arrangements had been made by the Legates for the conduct of business.² They submitted to each prelate the copy of a decree which said that the decisions of the Council were to

¹ The Legates were appointed as follows :—

14 February 1561, Ercole Gonzaga, Cardinal-bishop of Mantua, 1520-†63, diplomatist, and Giacomo Puteo, Cardinal-archbishop of Bari, 1550-62, canonist: then 10th March 1561, Girolamo Seripando, Cardinal-archbishop of Salerno, 1554-†63, scholar: Stanislas Hosius, Cardinal-bishop of Ermland, 1551-†79, and Ludovico Simonetta, Cardinal, canonist, and the real confidant of Pius IV. The Gonzaga became Dukes of Mantua 1530, and Ercole was the brother of the reigning Duke Guglielmo, 1550-†87. Puteo resigned; and was succeeded by the Pope's nephew, Cardinal Hohenems (Altemps), Bishop of Constance 1561-89(†95). a young prelate, without experience, who was engaged in learning the Lord's Prayer in Latin when appointed Legate 1 Le Plat, IV 697-8; Pastor, xv. 244; Philippson, 256 sqq.

² Palcotto. *op. Acta*, ii. 530 sq.

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be taken *proponentibus legatis ac praesidentibus*; and the decree was carried in the General Congregation of 15 January. Guerrero then, for the first time, noticed the words *proponentibus ac* which he had overlooked when the draft was first sent to him. He was at some pains to express his subsequent disapproval of what he had originally been content to let pass: but the phrase appeared to rob the Council of its initiative, and made it look like the mere mouthpiece of the Pope and the Legates. The Legates gave explanations, as that *proponentibus ac* was an *obiter dictum*; and added vague promises, as that they would never hinder anyone from saying anything for the furtherance of the Catholic Faith.¹ Philip, at the instance of his ambassador Vargas and the Spanish bishops, made efforts to get the Pope to alter the formula, but he clung to it resolutely, while saying all the time that it was of no importance. He reproached Philip with being more troublesome than either the King of France or the Emperor; while, as for the Spanish bishops, everyone of them wanted to play the Pope.² When the decree was read in Session XVII on 18 January 1562, *proponentibus legatis ac praesidentibus* remained;³ and, despite the renewed opposition of Guerrero, victory declared again for the Pope and the Curia.

(3) *The Index*.⁴—The treatment of this subject was, in reality, formal, and in the end led to nothing. But it is interesting as shewing the spirit which reigned at Trent, and as indicating the position of the various parties. The *Index* was the invention of Paul IV,⁵ January 1559. Pius IV now sent letters to the Legates, desiring that books written since the rise of the late heresies should be examined, their authors cited and, as it was hoped, submit.⁶ After long debate, the assembly decided to revise the *Index* of Paul IV. A commission was appointed, and it was resolved to issue a safe-conduct to the Protestants, in order that they might come and make either defence or submission. But the Spaniards objected that this would interfere with the Inquisition in Spain, and was also opposed to the orders of Philip II. The Legates recognised the force of this objection: for it

¹ *Acta*, ii. 533A.

² *Can. et decr.*, 101.

³ See above, c. iii. § 6

⁴ Philippson, 465

⁵ *Ib.*, 466 sqq.

⁶ *Acta*, ii. 534 sq.; Mendham, 179 sqq.

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applied no less to the Roman Inquisition.¹ They tried hard to devise a safe-conduct which would, on the one hand, preserve the reputation of the Council for desiring to be conciliatory and, on the other hand, save the interests of the Holy Office. But in vain. At last they issued an invitation with the mere promise of a favourable reception; and, 13 February, at the suggestion of the Imperial ambassadors, begged the Protestants to come. The Spaniards were furious at the delay, and at this weak-kneed concession to heretics. But the proposals of the Legates were carried; and became, in fact, the decrees of Session XVIII,² 26 February 1562. They remained a dead letter. The Legates, indeed, had won the support of the Emperor in the business: but they almost lost the goodwill of Philip. They had to assure him by letter, 10 May, that nothing was contemplated to the prejudice of his Inquisition.³ They only wished to prevent it being said that they had refused to give a chance of reconciliation to their adversaries, and to throw on them the onus of having rejected it.

(4) *Residence*.—The *Index* and the safe-conduct having now been got out of the way, the Council turned to the question of reform. Cardinal Seripando, who was zealous for the restoration of discipline, drew up a scheme, with the assistance of five bishops—Zara, Ragusa, Sorrento, Modena and Sutri—whose names he concealed, and presented it to the Legates. They consigned it for examination to Simonetta, on the ground that he was the ablest canonist in the assembly. He proposed twelve articles,⁴ by way of enquiry, to elicit the opinions of the Fathers. Of the twelve, the first was the only one of importance;⁵ for it raised the question of residence, and gave scope for discussing its obligation.

The question was: "Is the residence of bishops upon

¹ *Acta*, ii. 543.

² *Can. et decr.*, 101 sqq.

³ Philippson, 468.

⁴ *Acta*. i. 694; Sarpi, 452; Waterworth, clxi.

⁵ *Suspicio penes aliquos, ex legatis, et praecipue Simonettam, id primum caput, ubi de residentia agitur, nimis late conceptum esse, quod deinde occasio praelatis dari possit digrediendi in remotiores materias, et omnia quaestionibus implicandi.* Paleotto: *Acta*, ii. 549. The article ran: Considerent patres quae ratio muni possit ut . . . episcopi et caeteri omnes animarum curam habentes in suis ecclesiis resideant, et ab eis non nisi iustis . . . de causis absint. *Acta*, i. 694

their sees obligatory by divine, or only by ecclesiastical, law?" It had come to the front in the earlier days of the Council: when it was evaded. At first sight, it seems a question of little importance. But the whole structure of the papal system was involved. "All agreed," says von Ranke, "on the fact that residence was imperative. The Spaniards, however, further maintained the episcopal authority to be no mere emanation from that of the Pontiff, but to have its origin immediately from divine appointment. Hereby they struck at the very heart's core of the whole ecclesiastical system; for, by the admission of this principle, that independence of the subordinate grades of the hierarchy, which the Popes had so earnestly laboured to subdue, must necessarily have been restored."¹ If the obligation were of divine authority, then the Pope could not dispense from it. Abuses, therefore, must be tolerated for the sake of the revenues of the Pope and the Curia.

On this point, the Governments—Spanish, French and Imperial—were united against Pope and Curia. The Imperial ambassadors urged the Legates to submit the twelve articles for discussion. They did so, 11 March:² taking care, however, not to censure absentees: for they did not desire the presence of any more ultramontanes when so delicate a point was in question. A number of prelates believed, not without reason, that all serious reform turned upon the enforcement of residence; and they wished therefore to lay such restrictions upon the dispensing power of the Pope and such terrors on the conscience of offenders as would secure it. Upon the need of residence, all were agreed. But how to enforce it—there they differed. The Italians objected to the circumscription of the papal prerogative. Pluralists resisted for interested reasons. The Legates themselves were divided: Gonzaga and Seripando in favour of the divine obligation of residence, and Simonetta against it. The Council was suddenly divided into two camps: and the debates became so acrimonious that Paleotto compares the epidemic of vituperation to a contagion and ascribes it to the devil!³

¹ *Popes*, i. 251; see also Pastor, xv. 272 sq., who agrees.

² Paleotto: *Acta*, ii. 549A.

³ *Ib.*, 551B, *ad fin.*

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On 7 April,¹ the Archbishop of Granada opened with the affirmation that residence is of divine obligation. For days the battle continued, each side stamping with their feet, coughing and shouting down the other, until the Legates had to remind them that the liberty of the Council was in danger. On 20 April they cut the matter short by putting the question to the vote. Thirty-eight voted "No"; thirty-four were for referring it to the Pope; and sixty-seven voted "Aye"—in favour of the divine obligation of residence.² A majority was thus practically gained for it: and that, in an assembly mainly of Italians. But in form the ultramontanes were defeated: and the Legates referred the matter to the Pope: while Simonetta accused his colleagues of allying with the ultramontanes "against the Lord and against his anointed."³ Pius IV announced his intention of superseding them, and stirred up Simonetta to quarrel openly with his fellow-Legates. Gonzaga, who enjoyed great authority and respect at Trent, was thus the victim of a humiliation which would have led to the dissolution of the Council, had Pius persisted; for the bishops would not have submitted to his being so treated. They complained loudly that the Council was not free; and M. de Lansac, the French ambassador at Trent, wrote to his colleague in Rome, 19 May, that when the Holy Spirit was wanted at Trent, he was sent in a knapsack from Rome!⁴

These dissensions became the talk of Europe. To escape from the wrath of the Pope, on the one hand, and from the opposition of the ultramontanes, on the other, the Legates proposed to defer the clause:⁵ and at Session XIX, 14 May, they prorogued the Council⁶ to Session XX, 4 June. It was then resolved that the Council should be further prorogued⁷ till 16 July. But thirty prelates, in an assembly of a hundred and fifty, lodged a protest;⁸ and, though their votes were in a minority, the discontent was loud and general. Six months wasted, and nothing done: except that Pius IV

¹ *Acta* ii 552A; and i 697.

² *Ib.*, ii 554 sq. On the exact numbers, see Philippson, 474, n. 1; and Pastor, xv. 273.

³ Pallavicini, XVI. ix. 8.

⁴ Lettre de Lansac à de Lisle; Le Plat, V. 169; Philippson, 478.

⁵ *Acta*, ii. 559A.

⁶ *Can. et decr.*, 106.

⁷ *Ib.*, 107.

⁸ *Acta*, ii. 560B.

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intervened, and published three Bulls of reform, 4-27 May, by himself.¹

(5) *The Chalice*.²—To fill in the time, the Legates took up the question³ which had been left over in Session XIII, 11 October 1551, whether the Chalice should be granted to the laity and, if so, on what conditions?⁴

This was the chief concession of the *Interim*, 1548; and it was demanded in both the Imperial⁵ and the French⁶ *libelli*. It was known to be viewed with favour by the Pope;⁷ and had already been granted to certain persons in Germany by a commission from Paul III.⁸ The denial of the Chalice was a practice of recent growth in the Western Church; and its use was now, as at the Council of Basel, a mere question of expediency. On 6 June, five articles were presented, on this and kindred matters: the first of which ran: "Is it obligatory, by the ordinance of God, on every Christian to receive the sacrament in both kinds?" The Legates encountered violent resistance from the Spaniards, led once more by the Archbishop of Granada. He argued that the question had already been decided by previous Councils; and that, instead of re-opening questions of this sort and bringing their authority into contempt, it would be better to return to the really vital question of Residence.⁹

¹ Philippson, 483.

² *Ib.*, 484-505.

³ *Acta*, ii. 3.

⁴ Articuli V de usu sacramenti Eucharistiae . . . (*Acta*, ii. 7):—

- (1) An ex Dei praecepto ad salutem necessario omnes et singuli Christiani utramque speciem suscipere teneantur sanctissimi eucharistiae sacramenti?
- (2) An rationes, quibus S.C.E. adducta fuerit ut communicaret laicos atque etiam non celebrantes sacerdotes, sub una tantum panis specie, ita sint retinendae ut nulla ratione calicis usus cuiquam sit permittendus?
- (3) An si honestis . . . rationibus concedendus alicui vel nationi vel regno calicis usus videatur, sub aliquibus conditionibus concedendus sit, et quatenam sint illae?
- (4) An minus aliquid sumat qui sub una tantum specie hoc sacramento utitur quam qui sub utraque?
- (5) An divino jure necessarium sit parvulis, antequam ad annos discretionis pervenerint, altissimum hoc porrigere sacramentum?

⁵ Presented 7 June 1562; Le Plat, V. 248 *sqq.*; Philippson, 447.

⁶ Presented 2 January 1563; Le Plat, V. 638 (art. xviii), repeating Instructions to the French ambassador, 24 October 1561; Le Plat, IV. 726 *ad int*.

⁷ Philippson, 439.

⁸ Esp. in Bavaria. Le Plat, V. 338.

⁹ *Acta*, ii. 561.

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An uproar ensued; and the Legates made no progress with the Eucharist until Gonzaga, much to the annoyance of Simonetta, promised to return to the question of Residence.¹ They sent word to the Pope, by the Archbishop of Lanciano, 8 June, to obtain his decision about Residence; and, 27 June, the Imperial ambassadors demanded of the Council that it should grant the concession because of the state of feeling in Bohemia, Hungary and Germany.² They were loyally supported by Catholic Bavaria.³

The Legates, though apparently yielding to the requests of France and Germany, really set themselves to evade the question. They feared Spain. They also feared that, if the Chalice were granted, more demands would be pressed. At Rome no one except the Pope thought of concession. So the Legates put the *libellus* of Ferdinand quietly on one side. He was content to acquiesce; and, 30 June, to substitute a mild request that the Council would give Germany more clergy and improve their morals.⁴ The King of France, at this moment, needed the help of the Pope against the Huguenots: for the First War of Religion had just broken out, in consequence of their massacre at Vassy by the Guises, 1 March 1562. The Legates, accordingly, deferred the question to a more convenient season; and, by vague promises, induced the Imperial ambassadors to assent to the delay. The Council then prepared canons condemning those who affirmed the necessity of Communion in both kinds, or the insufficiency of Communion in one kind.

The party of reform was once more duped; but Duke Albert V of Bavaria, 1550-179, came to the rescue. His ambassador, in a long and trenchant speech,⁵ delivered on 27 June, both angered and alarmed the Legates. For he deplored the heresy of the people, the drunkenness and immorality of the clergy,⁶ as well as the generally threatening

¹ *Acta*, ii 562A.

² *Ib.*, 40, Le Plat, V. 346-50 (Bohemia, §§ 4-16; Hungary, §§ 17-26)

³ *Ib.*, 562; Le Plat, V. 338 sq.; 341 sq.

⁴ Le Plat, V. 359.

⁵ *Ib.*, 335-44.

⁶ In proxima visitatione per Bavariam, tam frequens concubinitus repertus fuit ut vix inter centum tres vel quatuor inventi sunt qui aut manifesti concubinarij non fuerint, aut clandestina matrimonia non contraxerint, aut uxores palam non duxerint. *Ib.*, 338

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attitude of the country due to the refusal of the Chalice. Nothing was to be done but to occupy the attention of the Council with small matters of reform; while awaiting the papal reply about Residence. Such treatment naturally annoyed the ultramontanes, and called forth loud remonstrances. While the Imperial ambassadors, 27 June, demanded Communion in both kinds for Bohemia and Hungary,¹ the French, on 4 July, followed up the demand by a similar petition of their own;² and the Bishop of Veglia drew attention to the numerous subjects of Venice in Cyprus and Crete who, though in communion with the Holy See, yet practised communion in both kinds.³

It began to look as if the Council were on the point of a breakdown, when the ultramontanes gave in. On 6 July Philip II sent orders to his ambassadors and prelates not to press the Continuation, nor the question of Residence and its divine obligation any further.⁴ The French were busy with the First War of Religion, and the Emperor was too feeble to oppose. The Pope at once became friendly. He caused Simonetta to become reconciled to Gonzaga,⁵ and shewed the latter marks of special esteem.⁶ And on 16 July, Session XXI⁷ was celebrated, with four chapters on the question of the Chalice, and four canons condemning their contraries. They affirm that Communion under both kinds is not of divine obligation;⁸ that the Church has authority to regulate the way in which the sacraments are to be administered;⁹ that Christ is whole and entire under either species;¹⁰ and that little children are not bound to sacramental Communion.¹¹ The main question, however, as to whether the Chalice should be granted to any nation or kingdom; and, if so, when and under what conditions, was deferred by a rider¹² added to these chapters and canons

¹ *Acta*, ii. 40; 563A.

² *Ib.*, 45; Le Plat, V 366 sq.

³ Veglia is an island off the coast of Dalmatia, near Fiume. It now belongs to Jugoslavia. Its bishop was a suffragan of the Archbishop of Zara, lower down on the same coast and was now Albert de Glirici, 1550-164: see Wilsch, *Geography and Statistics of the Church*, ii. 299; and, for his speech, *Acta*, ii. 564B.

⁴ For his instructions, see Sarpi, 505; Philippson, 493.

⁵ *Acta*, ii. 568A.

⁶ Pallavicini, XVII v. 1.

⁷ *Can. et decr.*, 107 sqq.

⁸ C. 1.

⁹ C. 2.

¹⁰ C. 3.

¹¹ C. 4.

¹² *Can. et decr.*, p 110.

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by the victorious Italians and Spaniards. As to the *Decretum de Reformatione*, the only enactment of any importance was the abolition of the office of Quæstor, or Indulgence-seller, name and thing.¹ It was the first positive reform that the Council had, as yet, carried out.

This was a meagre result of eight months' work. So the Council proceeded to consider the Sacrifice of the Mass. Thirteen articles,² partly doctrinal and partly disciplinary, were submitted for discussion, 19 July. On 22 August the conditions under which, if any, permission was to be given for Communion in both kinds were similarly propounded:³ and, 10 September, certain points of discipline were set forth in fourteen articles, under the head of reform, with nine canons on abuses in the celebration of Mass.⁴

As to doctrine, the articles concerning the Mass were debated with animation, but concluded with unanimity. The main point on which difference of opinion manifested itself was: "Whether Christ offered Himself as a sacrifice for us at the last supper, or only upon the Cross?"⁵ The

¹ *Decr. de Ref.*, c. lx.; *ib.*, 115.

² They were.

- (1) An missa sit sola commemoratio sacrificii in cruce peracti, non autem verum sacrificium?
- (2) An sacrificio in cruce peracto deroget sacrificium missae?
- (3) An illis verbis *Hoc facite in meam commemorationem* ordinavit Christus ut apostoli offerrent corpus et sanguinem suum in missa?
- (4) An sacrificium, quod in missa fit, prosit solum sumenti, non possit autem offerri pro aliis tam vivis quam defunctis, necnon pro ipsorum peccatis, satisfactionibus et aliis necessitatibus?
- (5) An missae privatae, in quibus sc. solus sacerdos et non alii communicant, illicitae sint, ac abrogandae?
- (6) An quod in missa aqua vino admisceatur cum Christi institutione pugnet?
- (7) An canon missae errores contineat, sitque abrogandus?
- (8) An ecclesiae romanae ritus, quo secreto et submissa voce verba consecrationis proferuntur, damnandus sit?
- (9) An missa nonnisi in lingua vulgari, quam omnes intelligant, celebrari debeat?
- (10) An abusus sit certas missas certis sanctis attribuere?
- (11) An caeremoniae, vestes et signa externa, quibus ecclesia in celebratione missarum utitur, sint tollendae?
- (12) An Christum pro nobis mystice immolari idem sit quod nobis ad manducandum dari?
- (13) An missa sit tantum sacrificium laudis et gratiarum actionis, an etiam sacrificium propitiatorium tam pro vivis quam pro defunctis? *Acta*, ii. 58.

³ *Acta*, ii. 38.

⁴ *ib.*, 119-22.

⁵ *ib.*, 572B.

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Jesuit Salmeron opened the debate, and maintained that His self-oblation belonged to the last supper; and this is clear, he argued, not only from the Canon of the Mass but from the words of the Gospel—"Do this in remembrance of me." They are to be referred neither to consecration nor to reception, but to our Lord's self-oblation at the last supper.¹ The Dominican, Fra Pedro de Soto, 1500-1563, answered that His self-oblation took place only upon the Cross; and his opinion won the support of the Archbishop of Granada and others.² But their views received a crushing blow upon the appearance of Lainez, the General of the Jesuits. He dwelt particularly on the point that the whole of our Lord's condescension was a sacrifice, His life as well as His death, and every act of His redemptive though we naturally attribute most to His Cross, where His love is shewn to the uttermost.³ In the end, a mediating view prevailed to the effect that, at the last supper, our Lord offered Himself simply:⁴ but, as our propitiation, only upon the Cross. And this accounts for the cautious but indecisive language of the first dogmatic chapter: "He, therefore, our God and Lord, although He was about to offer Himself once on the altar of the Cross unto God the Father by means of His death . . . nevertheless . . . in the last supper . . . to the end that He might leave to His . . . Church a visible sacrifice . . . whereby that bloody [sacrifice] . . . might be represented, and the memory thereof remain . . . and its salutary virtue be applied . . . He offered up to God the Father His own body and blood under the species of bread and wine . . . and by those words 'Do this in remembrance of me,' He commanded both His apostles and their successors in the priesthood to offer [them], as the Catholic Church has always understood and taught."⁵

¹ *Acta*, ii. 573B.

² *Ib.*, 574.

³ *Ib.*

⁴ *Simpliciter, sed non propitiatorie: ib.*

⁵ Session XXII, *De Sac. Missae*, c. 1. (*Can. et decr.*, 117); and note—"L'oblation de la cène et l'oblation de la messe ont ceci de commun quelles sont l'oblation d'une victime immolée en un autre point de l'espèce et du temps: à la cène, l'oblation est faite de la victime qui sera immolée sur la croix: à la messe, l'oblation est faite de la victime qui a été immolée sur la croix." Batiffol, *Leçons sur la messe*, 179; and note also his quotation from Suarez (1548-1617). "Principaliter colligenda est haec veritas (viz., that our Lord offered Himself at the last supper) ex facto et verbis Christi, quae ab Evangelistis referuntur, *adjuncta ecclesiae traditione et expositione*, sine qua sola evangelica historia non potest satis convincere, nulla namque in ea fit expressa mentio sacrificii vel oblationis." *Ib.*, 179, n. 1.

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The Mass was further decreed to be a propitiatory sacrifice, and to avail for quick and dead.¹ It might be celebrated in honour of the Saints.² Though it is desirable that the faithful should communicate at every Mass, still the Mass without communicants is legitimate.³ It must be in the Latin tongue.⁴

But there remained the most important point—the Chalice. The Emperor made a fresh demand for this reform, through his ambassador, Antony Brus, Archbishop of Prague, 1561–†80, and others. These, however, made the tactical mistake of not waiting for the support of the French; and this gave an opening to Lainez, of which he was not slow to avail himself, for attacking the Imperial proposals with all his might.⁵ On 6 September they proceeded to the division: 48 Ayes, 52 Noes, and 65 for referring the matter to the Pope.⁶

There still remained the question of reform. In their *libelli*, both Ferdinand and Charles IX had asked for nothing less than a transformation of the Church. The Imperialists wanted to propose their *Libellus Reformationis*; and the French desired to put forward the programme of reform recommended at the Colloquy of Poissy,⁷ September 1561. But this would have been to go behind the eleventh century, and the development of the papacy from Hildebrand onwards. Besides, these documents asked for the marriage of the clergy, the reduction of the number of Cardinals to twenty-six, the abandonment of ecclesiastical property to heretics in possession of it, and a general limitation of the financial and juridical powers of the Curia. Reunion, they said, was possible on this basis. The Legates replied that they would rather die first: and, with the permission of Pius IV, they submitted, 10 September, certain minor points, fourteen⁸ in number, and mainly derived from the Imperial *Libellus* and the acts of Poissy, “just to stop the mouths,”⁹ as they said, of the

¹ Vere propitiatorium, c. ii. ² C. iii. ³ C. vi. ⁴ C. viii.

⁵ Paleotto *ap. Acta*, 563; and *Acta*, ii. 114 sq.

⁶ *Ib.*, 585A; and *Ib.*, 115

⁷ Cf. W. H. Jervis, *The Gallican Church*, i. 138 sqq.

⁸ *Acta*, ii. 119 sq.; and Paleotto *ap. Acta*, ii. 587 sq.

⁹ Ut obstruantur eorum ora qui aiunt de levioribus tantum agi pro instituenda disciplina. Raynaldus, *Annales* [ad ann. 1562], No. lxvi; tom. xv. 239 B.

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French and Germans. Eleven were accepted:¹ and to these was appended, as a matter of discipline rather than of doctrine, a decree concerning the conditions for the grant of the Chalice, referring the matter to the Pope.² On 17 September 1562, these decisions were ratified at Session XXII. The Curialists had won, hands down: but there followed ten months of hard fighting for them before their final victory, July 1563, and the closing Sessions of the Council.

§ 13. We now approach the last fifteen months of the Council's activity, September 1562–December 1563. The first ten of these, however, were active only in tumult.³ The old question of Residence came up in a new form; and blood was shed at Trent before it was got out of the way. The settlement was due to a change of tactics on the part of the papacy. Hitherto, parties at Trent had been simply the puppets of Popes and Princes. Pius IV resolved to abandon the policy of opposition to the secular powers, and to come to terms with the sovereigns of Europe, one by one. Thus he stopped the discord in the Council at its source. He effected his purpose by sending Cardinal Morone on a diplomatic errand to the Imperial Court: and to Morone "more than to any other man the [Roman] Catholic Church is indebted for the peaceful termination of the Council,"⁴ which followed in six busy months, July–December 1563. The period may be divided into three groups of events: the renewed opposition of the ultramontanes; the mission of Morone; and the winding up of the Council.

§ 14. *The Ultramontane Opposition*.—The next Session had been fixed⁵ for 12 November 1562, the Curia hoping that it might be the last, and that they might close the Council in December.⁶ But they were disappointed. The subject that came on next for discussion was the Sacrament of Orders,⁷ in connexion with which the Legates were already

¹ *Can et decr.*, 123–8.

² *Ib.*, 128.

³ "Praesens sessio" [sc. 18 September 1562], "ob gravissimas quae in ea inciderunt contentiones et pericula, maxime est memorabilis; nam octies, quod alius temporibus nunquam accidit, prorogata, acerrimis decem mentium disputationibus assiduo fuit agitata. . . ." So the Secretary Paleotto. *Acta*, ii. 591A.

⁴ Ranke, i. 260.

⁵ *Acta*, ii. 129A.

⁶ Philippson, 506.

⁷ *Acta*, ii. 591A.

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under a promise¹ to reopen the question of Residence. Seven heretical opinions² were submitted, 18 September 1562; but no sooner had the debates begun than fresh difficulties arose.

One was the complaint of the French and Imperial ambassadors that priority must be given to reform. They argued that to discuss doctrine in the absence of the Protestants was absurd. It could be better done when French, German and Polish bishops came, who were now on their way. Much better meanwhile to do some really useful work in the way of reform.³ But the Legates put them off; and the Pope attached small importance to the demand. Perhaps he was right. For both sides were waiting for the coming of the Cardinal of Lorraine, and preparing for the struggle which each knew to be at hand.

Another was the complaint of the Spaniards that among the seven articles submitted for consideration, no mention was made of a canon, presented 19 January 1552 under Julius III, to the effect that episcopacy is of divine institution.⁴

¹ See above, § 12 (5).

² *Articuli de sacramento Ordinis.*

- (1) *Ordinem non esse sacramentum ; sed ritum quendam eligendi et constituendi ministros verbi et sacramentorum*
- (2) *Ordinem non solum non esse sacramentum ; sed potius figmentum humanum excogitatum a viris rerum ecclesiasticarum imperitis.*
- (3) *Ordinem non esse unum sacramentum ; nec infimos et medios ordines velut gradus quosdam tendere in sacerdotii ordinem.*
- (4) *Nullam esse ecclesiasticam hierarchiam ; sed omnes christianos ex aequo esse sacerdotes, et ad usum seu executionem opus esse vocatione magistratus et consensione populi, et qui sacerdos semel fit, eum laicum rursus posse fieri.*
- (5) *Non esse in Novo Testamento sacerdotium visibile et externum ; neque potestatem aliquam spirituales sive ad consecrandum corpus et sanguinem domini, sive ad absolvendum coram deo a peccatis, sed officium tantum et ministerium praedicandi evangelium, et eos, qui non praedicant, prorsus non esse sacerdotes.*
- (6) *Uctionem non solum non requiri in ordinum traditione ; sed esse perniciosam et contemnendam ; similiter et omnes alias caerimonias ; et per ordinationem non conferri Spiritum sanctum ; proinde impertinenter episcopos, cum ordinant dicere ; Accipite Spiritum sanctum*
- (7) *Episcopos non esse presbyteris superiores, neque habere jus ordinandi ; aut, si habent, id illis esse commune cum presbyteris ; ordinationesque ab ipsis factas sine plebis consensu irritas esse. Acta, II. 133.*

³ *Acta*, II. 591

⁴ *Ib.*, 165 ; 592A.

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They were afraid that, unless the divine institution of episcopacy were affirmed, the obligation of Residence could never be enforced; and, in consequence, the want of discipline in the Church never healed.

A further complication arose. The Kings of France, Spain and Portugal united with the Emperor in a common effort to banish from all conciliar acts the formula *proponentibus legatus* ¹

Such a combination of evils alarmed the Curialists. The Legates asked for further instructions about Residence ². The Pope replied that they had better content themselves with increasing the penalties against non-residence, and say nothing about divine obligation.³ They submitted a decree on these lines, 6 November.⁴ But the alarm was not allayed. The Pope complained that everybody at Trent was his enemy; while the Curialists there taunted the partisans of the divine institution of the episcopate with pride and ambition, and two spies were sent from Rome to wait for the Cardinal of Lorraine.⁵

At last, the struggle began. On 13 October the decrees and canons on the Sacrament of Orders were submitted in due form.⁶ Preliminary debates followed;⁷ and they were presented in amended shape on 3rd November.⁸ The Curialists alleged that bishops were not inherently superior to priests, but only by privilege conferred by the Pope. The Archbishop of Granada, as early as 13 October, had contended that bishops were instituted by divine right.⁹ He went on to add, 3 November, that the Pope was bishop by precisely the same title as other bishops. These were his brothers, and not his sons. They derived their commission from Christ, and therefore had as good title to the style "Vicar of Christ" as the Pope himself ¹⁰. Six archbishops followed in the same strain, with all the Spaniards and not a few Italians. Others—the Legate Gonzaga, the Archbishop of Lanciano,¹¹ and the Bishop of Chioggia ¹²—en-

¹ Philippson, 512.

² *Acta*, II, 592B.

³ *Ib.*, 593B.

⁴ *Ib.*, 161.

⁵ *Dixit* . . . quod episcopi sunt jure divino instituti, et quod eodem jure divino sunt presbyteris superiores. *Acta*, II, 594.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 157.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 158

¹² *Ib.*, 160.

⁶ Philippson, 513.

⁷ *Acta*, II, 151-3

⁸ *Ib.*, 593.

⁹ *Ib.*, 155 sq.

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deavoured to mediate; but in vain. The Bishop of Segovia asserted that, in the primitive church, there were bishops but no papal supremacy.¹ The Bishop of Orense pointed out that the keys were given to the other Apostles as well as to St Peter.² This brought Lamez, the General of the Jesuits, to his feet. Relying mainly on the *Forged Decretals*, he stated the case for the papacy.³ But, because of its misrepresentation of the history of the early Church and its insolence to the episcopal Order, his speech produced an effect quite opposite to that which he intended; and, the strife now becoming as interminable as the speeches, the Session was at last postponed, 9 and 25 November.⁴

In the midst of this turmoil, 13 November, Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine,⁵ arrived, with a train of eighteen bishops and three abbots.⁶ He was a man of birth and culture; able, but ambitious beyond his powers. France, at the moment, desired reform; and the Queen-mother favoured it. The Cardinal therefore followed his government. On 23 November he appeared in the Council, and demanded fundamental reforms as alone adequate to meet the desperate situation of the Church in France.⁷ The French ambassador followed, in terms of severe reproach.⁸ Together they demanded, in accordance with their instructions, a pure worship, without superstitions and useless ceremonies; the improvement of discipline; the vulgar tongue; regular preaching and catechising; and the marriage of the clergy.⁹ But this was to rouse the opposition of the

¹ Ergo a Christo potestatem habuerunt, non autem a Petro. *Acta*, II. 163

² *Ib.*, 172 sq.: 19 November.

³ "Jurisdictio," he said, "tota est in papa tanquam in fonte a Christo Petro et successoribus data, a quo tota ecclesia derivatur. datur non vi consecrationis sed injunctionis" [9 December] *Ib.*, 197 sq. For a summary of his speech, see Waterworth, cccii.-ccv.

⁴ *Acta*, II. 167, 179.

⁵ Charles de Lorraine, 1524-†74: Archbishop of Rheims, 1538; Cardinal, 1547, "of Guise" and then "second Card. of Lorraine" after the death of his uncle John (1498-†50), the first Card. of Lorraine. *Cath. Enc.*, vii. 75.

⁶ *Acta*, II. 169; II. 598; Philippson, 515.

⁷ For his speech, and the letter of the King of France, see Le Plat, V. 551 sq., and Mendham's *Paleotto*, 308-13; cf. *Acta*, II. 176, 599.

⁸ Le Plat, V. 557-9, and Mendham's *Paleotto*, 317-20; cf. *Acta*, II. 176, 599.

⁹ Philippson, 517.

Spaniards as well as of the Italians. So it was arranged to buy over some of the Cardinal's servants; and that Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia 1561-†5, who was the agent of Cardinal Borromeo at the Council, should keep an eye on the Cardinal's movements.

The debate continued, and dissensions grew worse. The Legates, Gonzaga and Seripando, strove to mediate, by conferences, and concessions to the Spaniards. But the Italian majority held firm. One day, 1 December, the Bishop of Cadiz quoted the instance of the suffragans of the Archbishop of Salzburg who were appointed without papal licence and yet were acknowledged as legitimate bishops, in order to shew that bishops were not the creatures of the Pope. "Out with him!" shouted some of the Italians. "Damn him!" cried others. "All the Spaniards are damned heretics!" "You are a damned lot yourselves!"¹ Another scene ensued on 3 December, when the Legate Simonetta tried to suppress the Bishop of Alife, by reminding him that "no one has a right to answer the Legates Apostolic" and M. de Lansac, the French ambassador, remarked, as he saw the Italians coughing their opponents down, that "*jus divinum* produces severe catarrh!"² On 12 March riots followed in the streets: and blood was shed between the factions who shouted, some "Espagna! Espagna!" and their rivals "Italia! Italia!"³

With the opening of the new year, the confusion reached its height. On 19 December 1562 the royal arms triumphed over the Huguenots at Dreux:⁴ and the French bishops, encouraged by the Queen-mother, renewed their demands in the Council. On 2 January 1563 they presented to the Legates a *Libellus reformationis*,⁵ like that of the Emperor. It contained thirty-four articles: none of which touched upon Catholic Faith or Order. But, if carried, it would have reduced the revenues of the Curia and, by putting an end to favouritism and place-hunting, have rehabilitated the discipline of the French Church. The Legates first, and then the Curia to whom they referred it,⁶ rejected every demand of importance. In a letter to Cardinal Borromeo

¹ *Acta*, ii. 185, 606; Philippson, 519.

² Philippson, 520.

³ *Acta*, ii. 256.

⁴ *Ib*, 625.

⁵ *Ib* and Mendham's *Paleotto*, 400-7; *Le Plat*, V. 629-43.

⁶ By Felix Tiranni, Bishop of Viterbo, 1551-†78; *Acta*, ii. 625B.

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of 13 January, the former frankly own that their sole aims are, first, to strengthen the papal authority by means of the Council, and then to dissolve it with all speed.¹ And, 6 January, Pius IV, as if to range himself finally on the side of his worst partisans, created two youths² of eighteen and eleven years of age to be Cardinals; made bishops of persons under age and without degrees, and charged sees with ruinous burdens in order to provide an income for his favourites¹

The upshot was that, about the middle of January, the Council was in a state of collapse.³ On 1 February the Archbishop of Prague, in a letter to the Emperor, wrote "Everything at the Council is upside down."⁴ Ferdinand came to Innsbruck, and found the situation desperate. On 28 February 1563 the Legates sent Commendone, Bishop of Zante 1555-†84, to pacify him, but without effect; and on 12 February the Cardinal of Lorraine left Trent, threatening that, after Easter, he would call together a National Synod in France.⁵ He proceeded to join the Emperor at Innsbruck, which now became the centre of ecclesiastical affairs. His policy was to swamp the Council with ultramontane bishops, and for the Emperor himself to go in person to Trent. But Ferdinand was not the man that his brother, Charles V, had been. He may have learned from his failure the unwisdom of violent courses. He contented himself with sending his envoy back to Trent to express his severe displeasure:⁶ and then he addressed himself, in plain terms, 3 March, to the Pope. A few days later, 8 March, he sent another letter,⁷ denouncing the Pope for delaying the reform of the Church⁸ and enslaving the Council,⁹ as well as for the recent appointments.¹⁰ But Pius IV had taken his measure: and would not yield. He knew well enough the weak points in the party of reform. Its leaders were divided. The Emperor, its chief, was a feeble and irresolute prince.

¹ Philippon, 523.

² They were Federigo Gonzaga, nephew of the Cardinal Legate, and Ferdinando son of the Duke of Florence. *Acta*, ii. 625B; and Mendham's *Paleotto*, 408; Pastor, xv. 312, n. 3.

³ *Acta*, ii. 230A.

⁴ Philippon, 526.

⁵ *Ib.*, 529.

⁶ *Acta*, ii. 644.

⁷ Le Plat, V 694-703

⁸ *Ib.*, § 6

⁹ *Ib.*, §§ 11, 12

¹⁰ *Ib.*, § 9.

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What is more, neither he nor the King of France could resist the heretics successfully in their respective realms, without the papal support. Ferdinand therefore must be won over. It so happened that, at a convenient moment, the Imperialists in the Council lost their best friends among the Legates; for Gonzaga died 2 March and Seripando 17 March. Their colleagues asked for a new chief Legate. The Pope, seizing the opportunity, appointed Cardinal Morone,¹ 11 March, a prelate of great distinction and diplomatic skill. He was to win over the Emperor. The Pope himself was to detach Lorraine—a task now rendered all the more easy because of the assassination of his brother, the Duke of Guise, 9 March, which deprived the Cardinal of influence and prospects at the Court. With Imperialists and French thus withdrawn from the opposition, the Spaniards would be left without support; and Morone could then return to Trent from Innsbruck, and see to the closing of the Council in the papal interest.

§ 15. The *coup d'état* of Morone was successfully carried through by 15 July 1563, Session XXIII. He put in a brief appearance at the Council, 13 April;² and then immediately departed for Innsbruck. He was absent for just a month, 16 April to 17 May; during which the Council did nothing. At first, the Emperor was inaccessible. But the Jesuit, Peter Canisius, 1521-†97, had prepared the ground by confirming Ferdinand in his despair of the Council and suggesting that his plans could be better achieved by making friends with the Pope.³ The Curia was uppermost at the Council, and the Pope was known to be less papal than his Court. Morone was authorised to promise him the concession of the Chalice, as soon as the Council was over. He did so: and the Emperor allowed all his official communications with the Pope or the Council to pass through the hands of Zaccaria Delfino,⁴ the papal envoy. The Legate then exhibited a list of reforms to be proposed in the

¹ *Acta*, ii. 646.

² *Ib.*, 262 sq. For his opening speech, see Le Plat, VI. 1-3.

³ "Nul conseil ne pourrait être plus heureux ni plus salutaire, que celui qui s'appuiera sur une union intime et constante de César avec le Pontife." Canisius to Lamez, 8 May 1563; *ap Le bienheureux Canisius* (par L. Cristiani), III.

⁴ Philippson, 546

⁵ Bishop of Lesina, in Dalmatia, 1553-†83; Cardinal, 1564.

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Council. Ferdinand was pleased; but a few objections remained to be dissipated. Thus (1) his own plan of reform had been set aside. "Yes," was the reply, "but with sufficient reasons. The more important points had been adopted." (2) The Council was dominated by the Holy See. "That may be: but the ambassadors from all the Courts of Europe also receive their instructions from home." (3) The Legates monopolise the initiative. "Perhaps: but, if the bishops possessed it, they might use it to the detriment of princes." And Morone undertook that, for the future, he himself would propose whatever the ambassador might suggest to him from their sovereigns; and, if not, they should propose it themselves. (4) Committees, wherein decrees were prepared, were not allowed to meet according to their several nations. The Legate promised that this rule should be observed. (5) The Emperor demanded reform. In return, Morone promised a searching reform; and Ferdinand, on his part, agreed to drop the old question as to whether the Pope or the Council were superior, and to avoid all mention of "Reform of the Head" as well as of the members.¹ Secondary points were easily settled. The Emperor abandoned his proposal to submit to national committees propositions to be laid before the Council.² He gave up his objection to *proponentibus legatis*.³ He disapproved of raising questions of merely theoretical importance, such as the divine right of episcopacy or the divine obligation of residence.⁴ His complaisance would be inexplicable: but that he wanted the Pope's recognition of his son Maximilian, as King of the Romans. This was well known to Morone.⁵ He achieved a complete success. He fulfilled to the letter the task to which he had set himself—"never to permit the essential authority of the Pope to be in any wise diminished," and "to hit upon such expedients as that Ferdinand might consider himself satisfied without really compromising the power either of Pope or legate."

¹ Ranke, i. 256-8; but see Pastor, xv. 326, n. 3; Philippson, 547, n. 3. Morone's own reports of his mission are in letters to Cardinal Borromeo of 13 and 17 May: for which see Pastor, xv. 324.

² *Acta inter Ferd. Caes. et Card. Moronum*, § 1 (Le Plat, VI. 15); Pastor, xv. 322.

³ *Acta*, § 2.

⁴ *Ib.*, § 8.

⁵ Morone to Borromeo, 2 May 1563; Pastor, xv. 320.

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No wonder that Maximilian reproached his father for thus allowing himself to be duped:¹ or that the Legate, on his return to Trent, could say, "that when people became fully aware of the Emperor's friendly dispositions and of the concord established between his ambassadors and those of the Pope, the Council presently changed its aspect, and was much more easily managed."²

§ 16. By the time that Morone returned to Trent,³ 17 May 1563, the debates had been resumed after an interval of four months. Old sores were reopened. But a feeling of weariness seems to have come over the Council. There were some violent scenes; but they soon ended in a desire to drop all contentious points.

The doctrine and canons on the Sacrament of Orders first demanded attention. They had been under discussion since 13 October 1562.⁴ The Archbishop of Granada, 3 November, had raised a point of controversy by asserting that bishops were instituted immediately by Christ.⁵ Another was raised by the demand of the Pope, 9 January 1563, that an eighth canon should be added, defining his position as that of *Rector universalis ecclesiae*.⁶ This greatly annoyed the French; but within ten days all was settled, by reference to Rome.⁷ The Spaniards, however, meant to be awkward. They went to the Legates and insisted on substituting *a Christo institutam* for *divina ordinatione institutam* in canon vi: and objected altogether to canon viii which made too much of the papal authority.⁸ Pressure, however, was put upon them, 14 July; and, feeling themselves either tired of the conflict or deserted by the Emperor and the French, they yielded. The Legate, in return, promised that, on the close of the Council, the divine institution of episcopacy should be declared, while the Spaniards consented that this should be accompanied by an affirmation of the Pope's authority over bishops.⁹ The Council then affirmed the

¹ Letter of 24 May: Pastor, xv. 325.

² Ranke, i. 258.

³ *Acta*, ii. 263A.

⁴ *Ib.*, 151-3; and see above, § 14.

⁵ *Episcopi jure divino instituti et Christi vicarii sub summo vicario romano pontifice*. *Ib.*, 157

⁶ *Ib.*, 613; Waterworth, ccxiii.

⁷ *Ib.*, 624A.

⁸ *Acta*, ii. 621.

⁹ *Ib.*, 624B

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necessity of the hierarchy,¹ the legitimate authority of bishops,² and the episcopal character of bishops created by the Pope.³ On 9 July, after the chapters and canons on Orders had been agreed upon, the troublesome question of Residence⁴ was settled by the simple method of leaving out all reference to its divine obligation.⁵ On the Feast of St Peter and St Paul, there was a flutter about precedence between the French and the Spanish ambassadors. The French said that, if incense were not given to them first at Mass, they "would be off at once, and desert the papal obedience"; and, during the sermon, the Legates retired with them into the sacristy to settle the dispute. It died down:⁶ but thorny questions still remained.

Canons, seventeen in number,⁷ for the reform of abuses connected with the Sacrament of Order were submitted for examination, 10 May, and were under discussion till 12 July.⁸ The canons were important. C. i required that a bishop-designate must be a man of known integrity, and the Pope must not institute him without examination. Canons ii and iii provided that a bishop should enter upon his duties within six months, and administer them conscientiously. C. iv forbade the appointment of titular bishops. Canons v-xv dealt with the inferior clergy in a similar tone, providing for reform by subjecting them more closely to

¹ *Si quis dixerit, in ecclesia catholica non esse hierarchiam divina ordinatione institutam*, A.S. c. vi, *Can. et decr.*, 132 "This canon, in stating that the hierarchy 'was instituted by divine ordinance,' says what would now be accepted without hesitation by Ultramontanes, Gallicans and Anglicans, not to mention Orthodox Orientals. But it avoids the precise point which the Spanish bishops wished to emphasise, viz., that it was Christ himself who instituted the hierarchy and that a bishop is what he is and acts as a bishop by virtue of Christ's ordinance, and not because either (i) jurisdiction has come to him through the Pope, or (ii) the power to exercise jurisdiction received by him from Christ has come through the Pope. Both these latter theories imply that St Peter possessed powers which were different in kind from those of the other apostles, and that these powers are possessed by the Pope." L. Pullan, *Religion since the Reformation*, 258

² C. vii

³ C. viii.

⁴ There is a summary of the controversy from the beginning, 10 December 1562, in *Acta*, ii. 626-41 (Mendham's *Paleotto*, 409-73).

⁵ *Acta*, ii. 302.

⁶ *Ib.*, 649 sq. (Mendham's *Paleotto*, 497-505).

⁷ Text in *Acta*, ii. 264-70, Le Plat, VI. 126-34. Paleotto gives the discussion on them from the beginning, *Acta*, ii. 651-61.

⁸ *Acta*, ii. 309

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episcopal supervision. The last canon, No. xvi, has done more than all the other decrees and canons of Trent put together for the revival of the Catholic Church. It ordered the erection of seminaries in every diocese, and prescribed their mode of life; and thus provided the Church with a good clergy. But these reforms were not carried without violent differences of opinion. They arose chiefly over cc. i and iv—the election of bishops and the appointment of titular bishops. These latter were bishops designated and paid by the Pope; and therefore at his command. The French denounced them as *monstra perniciosas*,¹ and the Spaniards said they were “inventions of the devil”:² while French and Spaniards united in demanding the independence of bishops, according to the standard of the primitive church. Lainez rose to object. “That is not our standard,” he said; “we have to consider what Christian charity demands under present circumstances. Let all reforms be referred to the Pope. As for the French, for the last hundred years they have been a nation of heretics.”³ Another scene is rather in a lighter vein: but equally illustrates the breach between Curialists and Ultramontanes then steadily widening. The Archbishop of Otranto and the Cardinal of Lorraine were engaged in lively amenities, when the latter began to discourse in pompous phrases of the superiority of Councils over Popes. He was followed by the Bishop of Verdun, who thundered against the abuses of the Curia. *Quam multa*, cried the Bishop of Orvieto, *gallus iste cantat*: and a witty compatriot of Verdun’s came to the rescue with *Utinam ad cantum hujus galli evitaretur Petrus et fleret amare!*⁴

But the wit and the pertinacity of the French were thrown away. Their leader was on the point of deserting. In March, the papal nuncio at Paris, who knew his man, sent word that, since the murder of the Duke of Guise, the Cardinal of Lorraine would have to secure his position in France not at the Court but at Rome. The Pope acted at once upon this intelligence. In public he denounced him as the most dangerous enemy of the Church; in private, he spared no effort to win him over, and offered him the post

¹ *Acta*, ii 652.

² *Ib*, 658

³ *Ib*, 660, Philippson, 560.

⁴ *Ib*, 660.

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of Legate Apostolic in France. The Cardinal closed with the offer, and sent his secretary to Rome to discuss the terms.¹ His conduct decided the issue of the Council in favour of the Curia.

Thus, it was now possible to hold the long-expected Session XXIII, 15 July 1563; for, under pressure from Lorraine, the French bishops gave up their opposition to the canons concerning abuses in the Sacrament of Orders.² C. i on the election of bishops³ was deferred; and c. iv decreeing the abolition of titular bishops was rejected. On the other hand, the Doctrine and Canons on the Sacrament of Orders,⁴ and the Decree on abuses connected with it,⁵ were all passed. There was little opposition; for they were all eviscerated of the points of controversy which had arisen out of them at first. The decree enforcing residence⁶ and the decree establishing seminaries⁷ were of the utmost importance for the restoration of the Catholic Church. In course of time, they gave it a detached and devout clergy, resident in diocese and parish. No greater impetus had, as yet, been given to the revival of true religion.

The accomplishment of Session XXIII was a source of great satisfaction to the Pope. It brought the close of the Council in sight. He had only to win over the Imperialists and the French to this purpose; and then he could concentrate all his attention upon the Spaniards. Lorraine was the agent in winning over both Ferdinand and Catherine de Medici. In September he went to Rome;⁸ and thence represented to the Emperor, what the Legates had not failed to impress upon him, the impossibility of obtaining from the Council, with its Italo-Spanish majority, such reforms as Communion under both kinds for the laity and the marriage of the clergy. Let the Emperor refer himself to

¹ Philippson, 563

² Pallavicini, XXI xi. 4.

³ *Acta*, II 264

⁴ *Can et decr.*, 129 sqq.
⁵ *Ib.*, 132 sqq.
⁶ *Decr de ref.*, c. 1; *ib.*, 133.
⁷ Singulae cathedrales . . . certum puerorum . . . numerum in collegio . . . alere, ac religiose educare et ecclesiasticis disciplinis instituere teneantur. In hoc vero collegio recipiantur qui ad minimum duodecim annos . . . Pauperum autem filios praecipue eligi. . . . Tonsura statim atque habitu clericali semper utentur. . . . Singulis diebus missae sacrificio intersint, ac saltem singulis mensibus confiteantur peccata *Decr de ref.*, c. xviii: *ib.*, 140 sq.

⁸ Mendham, 290.

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the Pope, on both these points. To this, Ferdinand consented; and, on condition that these concessions were made as soon as the Council closed, he consented also to the project of bringing it to an end as soon as possible.¹ The consent was clinched—if not brought about—by the offer of the Pope to assent to the election of Maximilian as King of the Romans.² Having thus taken a good share in securing the Emperor, the Cardinal of Lorraine next proceeded to gain over the French government. Catherine de Medici was anxious to obtain the pardon of the Church for her hasty peace with the Huguenots, confirmed by the Edict of Amboise,³ 19 March 1563. Her government could not afford to be troublesome, or to refuse the demand now made by the powerful Cardinal. They assented to the closing of the Council, on the same conditions as those which Ferdinand had accepted.⁴

Thus, by the defection of the Cardinal, following upon that of the Emperor, the cause of reform such as Germany and France wished, was lost for good. But the Pope had still to reckon with Spain.

§ 17. The last encounter with the Spaniards was the prelude to Sessions XXIV-XXV, 11 November and 4 December 1563, by which the Council was brought to an end.

The French bishops, headed by Lorraine, had now made common cause with the Curialists. When, therefore, the Sacrament of Matrimony came up for consideration,⁵ 4 February 1563, and a conflict ensued between the Church and the Civil Power on that subject common to both, the Spanish bishops, as the sole survivors of the independent party in the Council, were the only section of its members on whom the Governments of Germany, France and Spain could count. They became the rallying-point within the Council of the supporters of civil allegiance against ecclesiastical usurpation, and of reform against the interests of the

¹ Ferdinandi ad Moronum ep. de finiendo concilio, 31 July 1563: Le Plat, VI. 166-8.

² See above, § 15.

³ It closed the first of the Wars of Religion, March 1562-March 1563; see G. W. Kitchin, *History of France*, ii. 322, L. Armstrong, *Wars of Religion*, 92; Pastor, xvi. 187.

⁴ Ep. Card. Lothr. ad Puum IV, 16 August 1563; Le Plat VI. 180

⁵ Acta, ii. 232.

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Curia. They met with considerable success and, in company with the ambassadors who supported them, deserve a good deal of the credit due to Trent as a reforming Council. Two points illustrate this new condition of things—Matrimony and Reform.

(1) Matrimony.—In February 1563 the minor theologians discussed this question without much difference of opinion. The only doubtful points were (a) Whether every marriage between Christians is a sacrament, or only such marriages as were blessed by a priest; and (b) Whether it was advisable to declare all clandestine marriages null. Their resolutions, after being sent to the Pope 19 July,¹ were next day presented in the form of eleven canons on matrimony and a decree proclaiming the nullity of clandestine marriages.² The decree was supported by the French ambassador on the ground that such was the civil law of France,³ while the Cardinal of Lorraine and other French bishops followed upon the same lines. Many, however, were of opinion that a marriage, once contracted, was indissoluble because of its sacramental character; among them Hosius and Simonetta.⁴ After long debates, a vote was taken, 26–27 October: and the Council decided to invalidate clandestine marriages by 133 to 59.⁵ Thus the civil law of France and Spain was vindicated by the common action of bishops and governments. Only two other points need detain us in respect of matrimony. Scripture is vindicated by the assertion of canon x that virginity is a higher state than marriage; ⁶ but, except by the Imperial ambassadors, not a voice was raised against the enforcement by canon ix of clerical celibacy.⁷

(2) Reform was next undertaken by the Pope and the Legates: for Pius IV now placed the reform of the Curia in their hands, "because those to whom he had entrusted it in Rome were not particularly in a hurry about it."⁸ On 26 July the Legates published forty-two articles of reform;⁹ and, as some of these touched the rights of the civil power as well as the privileges of the Curia, the Legates had to face opposition from both quarters before they could hold Session XXIV.

¹ Mendham, 280.

² *Acta*, ii. 313 sq.

³ *Ib.*, 316; Le Plat, VI. 166.

⁴ Philippson, 567.

⁵ *Acta*, ii 371, 672, Waterworth, ccxxxii.

⁶ *Can. et decr.*, 147.

⁷ *Ib.*

⁸ *Acta*, ii 662A.

⁹ *Ib.*

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There was, first, a collision with the temporal power. Perhaps in hope of narrowing the struggle down to the vital points, Luna, the Spanish ambassador, succeeded in getting the forty-two reduced to thirty-six.¹ While the prelates were discussing these, 28 August, in committee and sitting by nations, the ambassadors united in expressing their repugnance² to canon xxxv,³ which contained a long and detailed attack on the rights of the State. After considerable opposition from the Curialists, on 10 September, the Legates withdrew it, for the time;⁴ and presented copies, next day, of canons i-xxi for discussion. The remainder, xxii-xxxv were to be deferred till after the next Session.⁵ C. i concerned the election and institution of bishops. C. ii provided for the regular holding of provincial synods. C. iii for the better supervision of the clergy, through the bishop's visitation. C. iv for frequent preaching. C. v for the trial of bishops. While C. xxiv abridged the rights of lay patrons by depriving of the right to present all those who could not justify it by documentary proof.⁶ Other canons insisted on catechising (viii); dealt with the jurisdiction of bishops (xii); restrained the liberties and exemptions of chapters (xiii); united small and poor sees (xiv); forbade simony (xv); provided for administration of dioceses during the vacancy of the see (xvii); prohibited pluralities, even to Cardinals (xviii); instituted a rigorous examination of priests when about to be licensed to the cure of souls (xix); and abolished expectatives (xx) which the Curia was in the habit of granting when a benefice was likely soon to be vacant. Here the Curia stood to lose. But the Legates, with impartial justice, had so drafted the canons as that the temporal power should lose too. It lost the nomination of bishops, the possession of tithe, the revenues of vacant benefices, and to a large extent the rights of patronage. Canon xxxv, for the Reformation of Princes, went further. It took away not simply the privileges of Sovereign States, but the principles on which they are constituted. Thus it robbed them of their supremacy over causes in which the clergy were concerned; abolished the *appel comme d'abus*;

¹ *Acta*, ii. 663A; text in 371-86.

² *Ib*, 663A.

³ Text in Mendham, 285-8, abridged, in Sarpi, 719

⁴ *Acta*, ii. 663B.

⁵ *Ib*, 371B.

⁶ *Ib*, 381A.

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debarred the State from interfering with Church Courts and, in particular, the Inquisition; punished the appeal to the secular courts with excommunication; exempted the clergy from taxation; and required immediate currency for all Bulls and processes from Rome, without any *placet* or *exequatur* from the civil power.¹ It is not surprising that the ambassadors saw in this canon xxxv an attempt to deprive the State of rights long enjoyed, and even necessary to the existence of government. The Cardinal of Lorraine, on the eve of his departure for Rome, 18 September, wrote to Charles IX to calm his anxieties on this subject.² But the King had already written, 28 August, to his ambassadors bidding them to let it be known at once that he would not tolerate any diminution of his ancient prerogatives.³ The Emperor also, 12 September, entered his protest; while the King of Spain caused his ambassadors at Rome to make representations to the Pope in person.⁴ There was, however, some justification for the Reformation of Princes, if reform was to be effected at all.

While the contest was at its height, the Legates suddenly found themselves embroiled with the Curia. About 26 September letters came from some Cardinals in Rome to various prelates, entreating them that they would not, by the proposed reformation, bring the whole Roman Court to ruin.⁵ This party of vested interests was led by Cardinal Alessandro Farnese.⁶ Their letters had great weight with the majority at Trent; and the Spaniards alone had to bear the brunt of a battle with the Curialists. In vain, the Imperial ambassador told the Synod that he had heard from the Pope's own lips of his wish to reform the Cardinalate.⁷ In vain, Cardinal Borromeo lent his whole support to Morone against the attacks of the Farnese faction. In vain, the Pope himself expressed his displeasure at their opposition.⁸ On 9 October, a commission of sixteen,⁹ chiefly Italians, was appointed to reconsider the decrees. They

¹ Philipppson, 568 sq.

⁴ Philipppson, 471.

² Le Plat, VI. 208-10.

⁵ *Acta*, II. 669A.

³ *Ib.*, 194.

⁶ Al. Farnese, 1520-189: grandson of Paul III, the builder of the Gesu, and of the superb Farnese palace of Caprarola. *Cath Enc*, v 788.

⁷ *Acta*, II. 414.

⁸ *Ib.*, 669A.

⁹ Names in *ib.*, 424A.

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introduced so many reserves and exceptions that they rendered them nearly innocuous to their masters the Curia. The Spaniards protested; and all that the Legates could do was to complain of the tyranny of conciliar majorities.¹

But the Legates had further to reckon with Spain. Before the work of the commission was presented for final discussion, 2-8 November,² the Spanish ambassador hastened to the rescue of the party of independence. He had, several times, on his own authority asked for the abolition of *proponentibus legatis*. By express command of Philip II he now demanded its suppression, and threatened, 28 September, a formal protest from the King.³ The Spanish bishops followed up. They rose, as one man, to protest against the modifications introduced by the commission. The Archbishop of Braga, who had just returned from Rome, vowed that the Holy Father was so zealous for reform that he would willingly lose 200,000 ducats *p.a.* to secure it.⁴ The Bishop of Segovia affirmed that the majority of the commission were Italians.⁵ The Bishop of Orense said that "in this Council no one has the slightest regard for ambassadors and nations."⁶ The Bishop of Vigo added that the canons on reform were eviscerated of their original purpose, and were worse than useless.⁷ And every speaker denounced the clause "without prejudice to the papal authority" as simply destroying all hope of reformation in advance.⁸ This joint opposition of ambassador and bishops had its effect. Many of the changes introduced by the commission had to be abandoned: while a clause was inserted that, by *proponentibus legatis*, there was no intention of limiting the liberty of the Council, nor of introducing any new privileges for anyone nor of depriving anyone of any ancient right.⁹

At last, on 11 November 1563, Session XXIV was held.¹⁰ But it was hardly an edifying scene. Two Legates, and more than fifty prelates, protested against the decree invalidating clandestine marriages. Doctrine and canons on the Sacrament of Matrimony; a decree in ten chapters on abuses connected with it: and a decree in twenty-one articles for

¹ Pallavicini, XXIII iv. 12.

² *Acta*, ii. 437-60, and 673.

³ *Ib.*, 672.

⁴ *Ib.*, 440 sq.

⁵ *Ib.*, 444B.

⁶ *Ib.*, 448A.

⁷ *Ib.*, 449A.

⁸ *Ib.*, 450B.

⁹ *Ib.*, 672B.

¹⁰ *Can et decr*, 145 sqq.

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the reform of the clergy were carried, but all with dissents,¹ after the longest sitting as yet known.

§ 18 In Session XXV, of 3 and 4 December 1563, the Council was, at last, successfully brought to an end.

There was a general desire for the close of the Council. All sides were weary of it. As early as September, the Legates had sent Carlo Visconti, Bishop of Ventimiglia, to lay before the Pope their reasons for closing the Council: the long absence of bishops from their dioceses, the drain on the papal treasury, the increasing insolence of the prelates, the recklessness with which the princes used the Council to serve their own ends. They particularly added that the conduct of the Spanish ambassador was insufferable.² Pius IV was of the same mind. On 14 October he sent the Legates authority to close.³ On 22 October he wrote to the Emperor.⁴ Morone, 25 October, addressed himself to Maximilian.⁵ And 31 October the Bishop of Ventimiglia had instructions to obtain the concurrence of Spain.⁶ The Emperor acceded at once, and instructed his ambassador at Trent to promote the closing of the Council.⁷ Only Philip II held out; and even the Spanish bishops were dejected and anxious to go.

But important business had still to be done. Besides the fourteen articles of reform,⁸ some of them dealing with awkward questions, such as the exemptions of chapters,⁹ the rights of patronage,¹⁰ and the reformation of princes,¹¹

¹ *Acta*, ii. 463-76, 674 sq.

³ Pallavicini, XXIII. vi. 9.

² Le Plat, VI. 220-3.

⁴ Le Plat, VI. 269.

⁵ *Ib.*, 269 sq.

⁶ *Ib.*, 270 sqq.

⁷ *Ib.*, 297

⁸ That is, canons xxii-xxxv of the original scheme. q.v. in *Acta*, ii. 380-6

⁹ No vi of the whole series (*ib.*, 374), discussed but deferred. The points in dispute which caused the Pope to side with the chapters and the King of Spain with the bishops are given in Ranke, i. 271. Philip was bent on restricting the immunities of the chapters because, as he nominated the bishops, he had a personal interest in the extension of episcopal authority. The Pope took part with the chapters because the influence which he exercised over the Spanish church would have been diminished by the subjection of chapters to bishops. It became c. vi of *Decr. de Ref.* of Session XXV.

¹⁰ No iii of the fourteen (c. xxii of the whole series. *Acta*, ii. 380) was also discussed previously but withdrawn. It limited the right of patronage to those who could prove it "ex authentico foundationis documento." It became c. ix of *Decr. de Ref.* of Session XXV. The objections to the patronage of kings and princes had to be given up.

¹¹ C. xxxv (*Acta*, ii. 384 sqq.)

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there remained the doctrines of Indulgences, Purgatory, Relics and Invocation of Saints, to be put into shape, while reform of the Regulars was also contemplated. All this had to be got through in three weeks. It could only be done by limiting discussion and leaving out all contested points. On 13 November the Legates convoked an informal gathering of twenty-five of the more eminent prelates together with the ambassadors, and laid before them the proposal for a speedy close. The Cardinal of Lorraine supported the motion,¹ although he had orders from Charles IX to procure the discussion of the French programme of reforms. His speech was a tissue of lies from beginning to end. But it produced a profound impression; and even the Spaniards acquiesced. The Legates then appointed three committees, each of five bishops and five theologians, to draw up decrees on abuses connected with Purgatory, Images, Invocation of Saints and Indulgences, 14 November.² Next day, the General Congregation proceeded to the discussion of the fourteen articles of reform, with especial reference to the reformation of princes.³ But, in the midst of these discussions, there arrived a dispatch from the French government, dated 9 November, and addressed in the absence of du Ferrier to the Cardinal of Lorraine⁴—a protest, of course, and one which was immediately backed up by the ambassadors of Spain, the Emperor and Venice, as well before the Council as to the Pope in person.⁵

A crisis was at hand. It was impossible for the Pope, if he would carry out his new policy of alliance with the Sovereigns of Europe, to proceed to irritate them, as the Italian majority wished. He therefore instructed the Legates to yield; and the obnoxious canon was reduced to the inoffensive formulary which is now a standing memorial of the retreat of the Curia.⁶ In three days, 16-18 November, the remainder of the fourteen articles were "precipitated rather than examined."⁷ Six more General Congregations sufficed to add six new disciplinary canons,⁸ prescribing a

¹ *Acta*, ii. 675 sq.

² *Ib.*, 676A.

³ *Ib.*, 676B. Canon xxxv, as now revised for discussion, 15 November, is given on p. 480.

⁴ *Le Plat*, VI 281-2.

⁵ Philippson, 581.

⁶ *Acta*, ii. 677A; and, as it now stands, c. xx (*Can. et decr.*, 203).

⁷ *Ib.*, 676B.

⁸ *Ib.*, 483-5.

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simple and austere life to bishops and cardinals,¹ limiting excommunication,² enforcing the payment of tithe,³ and so forth, and to compose twenty-three canons on the reform of monks,⁴ and seven concerning nuns.⁵

Everything seemed to be going smoothly when, suddenly, 27 November, Luna, the Spanish ambassador, renewed his resistance. He said that it was unseemly to decide upon weighty doctrines, such as Indulgences, without adequate discussion, and that he could not consent to the termination of the Council without express orders from his Sovereign.⁶ The Legates, 9 December, had just received the order to close the Council.⁷ Hastily, they collected fifty prelates to advise upon the situation. The French said that, in any case, they would go early in December.⁸ They blindly followed the Cardinal of Lorraine, knowing that he had instructions from the King and believing that he was acting in obedience to them. But Charles IX knew nothing of Lorraine's intrigues. Lorraine, therefore, had but a few days in which to act. If du Ferrier came back from Venice, then all would be disclosed, and the Cardinal would find himself in the awkward predicament of having to oppose either his Sovereign or the Pope. He did everything therefore to procure an immediate ending of the Council. The Legates feared just what Lorraine feared—the return of du Ferrier. Luna, however, was no easy person to outwit. On 29 November he summoned the bishops of Spain and South Italy to his lodgings, lectured them severely and roused them to fresh opposition. The Legates were at their wits' end. They could not close the Council without the signatures of the Spaniards. Fortunately, by accident or design, the news arrived, 30 November, that the Pope was ill.⁹ The prospect of the confusion that would follow was too much for the wearied assembly. At a hasty meeting, 2 December, it was decided that the last Session should take place next day. Decrees were to be submitted on Purgatory and the Invocation of Saints: the difficult question of Indulgences was to be omitted or postponed; and the necessary reforms,

¹ *Decr. de Ref.*, c. 1. (*Can. et decr.*, 187).

² C. iii (*ib.*, 189).

³ C. xii (*ib.*, 198).

⁴ *Acta*, ii. 485–8.

⁵ *Ib.*, 488–91.

⁶ *Ib.*, 677.

⁷ Dated 18 November: see it in Raynaldus, *ad ann.* 1563, No. ccii (xv. 469).

⁸ *Acta*, ii. 677.

⁹ *Ib.*, 678.

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as already intimated, were to receive assent.¹ The Legates were then able to announce that the Pope had made a good recovery and, in fact, had never been in better health.

So Session XXV was held 3-4 December 1563. Almost unanimously decrees were passed relating to Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Relics and Images. They were studiously moderate. The decree on Purgatory contented itself with affirming that "there is a Purgatory and that the souls there detained are aided by the prayers of the faithful and, in particular, by the acceptable sacrifice of the altar."² The decree on Invocation is content to affirm that "the Saints which reign with Christ offer to God their prayers for mankind, and that it is good and useful prayerfully to invoke them."³ The twenty-two canons for the reform of Religious,⁴ and the twenty-one on reformation in general,⁵ met with some opposition, but were passed. But what of the reluctance of the Council to say anything about Indulgences? Morone felt that it was too contentious a subject to handle at all; but the Council did not agree. They perceived the danger of silence. To say nothing upon the subject which was the occasion for the outbreak of the Reformation would only confirm the Protestants in their errors. Accordingly, a decree was prepared late at night; and at 9 a.m. was read over, with the rest, in preparation for the final Session.⁶ In the interests of the Spanish Bull of the Crusade,⁷ words were withdrawn from it which expressly forbade the payment of a sum of money for indulgence;⁸ and the Council confined itself to re-affirming "the use of indulgences" and condemning "all evil gains for the obtaining thereof."⁹ At 10 a.m. the prelates met for the final Session, in the Cathedral. They accepted the decree on Indulgences, just discussed. They passed a decree which referred Index, Catechism and the revision of Breviary and Missal to the Pope; and another which recited and confirmed the previous acts of the Synod as well under Paul III and

¹ *Acta* ii. 679.

² *Ib.*, 174.

⁵ *Ib.*, 187-204.

³ *Can. et decr.*, 173.

⁴ *Ib.*, 176-87.

⁶ *Acta*, ii. 680.

⁷ "A *Bulla Cruciatæ* procurable in Spain is a grant of Indulgences and a relaxation of the Friday abstinence, on condition of a small payment which formerly, as the name implies, was devoted to the war against the Moslem, but now goes to the upkeep of Spanish churches." *Spiritual Exercises of St Ignatius Loyola* (ed. J. Rickaby), p. 66.

⁸ *Acta*, ii. 680B.

⁹ *Can. et decr.*, 204.

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Julius III as under Pius IV.¹ By this simple proceeding they settled the question of continuation, and could claim the support of Philip II by going over to his side. The next resolution prayed the Pope to confirm the Council.² He did so,³ 26 January 1564. On 2 August he appointed a Congregation of Cardinals to see to the execution of its enactments:⁴ and on 13 November he summed up the Catholic Faith as taught at Trent in the *Creed of Pope Pius IV.*⁵

§ 19. Of the 255 prelates who signed⁶ the official acts of the Council, no less than 189 were Italians, "some of them mere creatures, not to say stipendiaries of the Curia."⁷ It was neither representative nor free. But, nevertheless, it contributed very definitely to the revival of religion in the Roman Catholic Church.⁸ It did not restore unity of faith among Christians. It came too late for that: the breach was complete before it began. But "it cleared up the religious position"; and "there could no longer be any doubt as to what was Catholic and what was not," so far as the faith and practice of the Church was concerned. As to the constitution of the Church, definitions were not quite so precise. "No formal decision was pronounced at Trent with regard to . . . the primacy of the Roman See. The Council, however, often calls the Roman Church the mother and mistress of all the churches;⁹ it ordered that, at the acceptance of the Council's decisions at each of the provincial synods, and at the acceptance of any ecclesiastical dignity, all must promise true obedience to the Pope.¹⁰ The Council also ordained that its decrees should only have force, subject to the maintenance of the rights of the Roman See.¹¹ It recognised that the Pope, in virtue of his office, has to care for the whole Church,¹² and that it fell to him to provide for the holding of an ecumenical Council.¹³ Finally, the Council

¹ *Can. et decr.*, 205-7.

² *Ib.*, 207.

³ *Ib.*, 218

⁴ *Ib.*, 224.

⁵ *Ib.*, 226-8; Mirbt⁴, No 480.

⁶ For the signatures, see *Acta*, II. 509-14.

⁷ C Hardwick, *Reformation*, 300.

⁸ For this summary, see Pastor, xv. 366 *sqq.*

⁹ Sess. VII, de bapt., canon 3.

¹⁰ Sess. XXV, de ref., c. 2; Mirbt⁴, No 472.

¹¹ Ita decreta fuisse ut in his salva semper auctoritas sedis apostolicae. Sess. XXV, de ref., c. 21.

¹² Sollicitudinem universae ecclesiae ex munere sui officio. Sess. XXIV, de ref., c. 1; a phrase running back to St Leo, *Ep.* 14; Mirbt⁴, No. 171.

¹³ *Can. et decr.*, 206, *ad fin.*

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recognised, *de facto*, the primacy of the Pope by submitting, in the last of its decrees, the decisions arrived at to papal confirmation.¹ The denial of the papal supremacy on the part of the innovators was sufficiently answered by these decisions; but Gallican views² as to the primacy, and especially the question whether the Pope was subject to an ecumenical Council, were not expressly decided at Trent." They were only decided three hundred years later, when the papal supremacy and infallibility received final definition at the Vatican Council of 1870.³

As to reform of abuses, the Council "candidly acknowledges that ecclesiastical discipline had become greatly relaxed, and that the morality of both clergy and people was at a low ebb."⁴ . . . They would lend no ear to the advice that they should meet at least the worst excesses of a depraved clergy by allowing the marriage of priests."⁵ But they insist on the residence of each bishop in his diocese,⁶ with full and free powers of administration; and, in particular, they make provision that he shall have an "able and worthy clergy." Besides "regulations for the prevention of unworthy persons being admitted into the ranks of the clergy," the Council ordered that "in every diocese, where there was no university, a seminary⁷ should be established, where suitable young men were to be trained for the service of the sanctuary from their youth: by this means the formation of a clergy, who should be cultured and learned, would be assured." None of the decrees of the Council has done so much for the religious revival of the Western Church.

"To sum up, it is difficult to estimate too highly the importance of the Council of Trent, especially for the interior development of the Church. It laid the foundations of a true reform, and fixed Catholic doctrine on broad and systematic lines. It is at once a boundary and a landmark, at which opposing spirits must separate, and it inaugurates a new epoch in the history of the [Roman] Catholic Church."

¹ *Can. et decr.*, 207.

² See the *Declaratio cleri Gallicani de ecclesiastica potestate* (1682) in *Mirbt*⁴, No. 535.

³ *Ib.*, No. 606

⁴ *Ad restituendam collapsam admodum ecclesiasticam disciplinam depravatosque in clero et populo Christiano mores . . . Sess. VI, de ref., c. 1*

⁵ Sess. XXIV *De sacr. matr.*, canon 9.

⁶ Sess. VI, *de ref.*, c. 1; Sess. XXIII, *de ref.*, c. 1.

⁷ Sess. XXIII, *de ref.*, c. xviii

CHAPTER V

THE JESUITS, 1556-72

WE have now described in turn the chief agencies of the Counter-Reformation; the new Religious Orders, the Roman Inquisition, and the Council of Trent. The reforms contemplated by the Council all depended upon the proviso "Saving always the authority of the Apostolic See."¹ They might have remained a dead letter but for a new spirit in the papacy and for an army of good men at its disposal to create the conditions for carrying them out. Such was the service rendered to the religious revival by the Jesuits.² The name appears first in 1544, when it was given them in derision. But they adopted it: and it became a title of honour.

The progress of the Society owed most to its founder and his original company of ten picked men. But it was subsequently indebted to the Jesuit system.³

§ 1. The authorities for this system are fourfold.

First among them must be reckoned the various Bulls establishing the order, and extending its privileges. They contain, in germ, the substance of the *Constitutions*.⁴ In *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*⁵ of 27 September 1540, Paul III sketched the conception and purpose of the Order to which he thus gave his sanction. He limited its members to sixty: but this restriction he afterwards removed by *Injunctum nobis* of 14 March 1544. Militant in origin and purpose, the Order had to be mobile; and its mobility was assured by several grants. Thus licence was given, June 1545, to preach and administer the sacraments everywhere, without first obtaining permission from the bishop or the parish priest:⁶ and by *Licet debitum*⁷ of 18 October 1549 Paul III conferred upon the Society exemption from taxation and all episcopal

¹ Sess XXV, *de ref.*, c. 21.

² *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 81-110.

³ Bochner, 60 *sqq.*

⁴ *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 81.

⁵ Mirbt⁴, No. 480.

⁶ Pastor, xii. 37.

⁷ *Ib.*, 38.

jurisdiction, and freed them from any obligation to undertake the spiritual direction of convents of women. Such an obligation would have interfered with mobility. From the first, and for similar reasons, he had permitted them to say their office privately and not in choir. The privilege was temporarily withdrawn, 8 September 1558, by Paul IV. He looked askance upon the Order, perhaps as a predominantly Spanish affair. But Pius IV restored it:¹ as well as the General's tenure of office for life which the jealousy of Paul IV had also modified.

Second, the *Spiritual Exercises*.² This was a manual which Ignatius published, 11 September 1548, with the approbation of Paul III.³ He was indebted for its form, but only to a slight degree for its substance, "to the *Exercitatorio de la vida espiritual* of Dom Garcia de Cisneros, the Benedictine abbot of Montserrat, published in 1500, which Ignatius, no doubt, found in use at the convent of Montserrat during his stay there, and to the writings of the mystics . . . which he probably met with during his stay in Paris."⁴ It was, however, not mystical, but practical in aim. The greater part of it consists of meditations, spread over a period of four weeks, and to be used under the guidance of a skilled director.⁵ "In the first period, the course of the meditations is conducted so as to produce in the neophyte . . . a passive state in which he will be ready to receive the impressions that it is desired to make upon him. In the second week, the glories of the Heavenly King and the privileges of His service are set before the disciple.⁶ The armies of Christ and Satan are contrasted, and the demands that God makes upon men are set forth.⁷ The third and fourth weeks are devoted to meditation upon the sacred story, the life and passion of Christ, and the enormity

¹ Pastor, xiv 257 sq.

² Edit. J. Rickaby, S.J. (1915), in Spanish and English; W. H. Longridge, S.S.J.E. (1919), see also Ranke, i. 173 sqq.; Pastor, xii. 9 sqq.; Boehmer, 25 sqq.; and Mirbt¹, No. 433.

³ In *Pastoralis officio* of 31 July 1548.

⁴ C.M.H., ii 657.

⁵ Whence the *Directorium*, a body of official instructions (forty short chapters) for giving of the *Exercises*, issued by the General in 1599, Rickaby, 22, n. 1. Text in *Mon Hist Soc. Iesu: Monumenta Ignatiana*, II, 1. fasc. vii, viii (Madrid, 1919).

⁶ Meditation on the Kingdom of Christ: Rickaby, 77 sqq.

⁷ On the Two Standards; *ib.*, 109 sqq.

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of human sin; and finally the joys of heaven are set before the disciple. To gain them, he must give up liberty and the freedom of thinking for himself. Absolute obedience to the bride of Christ, the Church, its doctrines and its life, is the only way of salvation."¹ The *Exercises* end with the well-known prayer of self-surrender;² followed by eighteen *Regulae ad sentiendum cum Ecclesia*.³ Every year for eight days, and twice in early life for a month continuously, each Jesuit, leaving all other occupations, devotes himself to "making the *Exercises*," thus to renew the memory of the principles upon which his choice of a vocation is founded. Chief among them is obedience: the soldier's virtue which Ignatius saw to be indispensable for an Order setting out to win back all who had revolted or strayed from their allegiance to the Church.

Third, the *Constitutions*,⁴ by which the Order is still governed. They were drawn up by Loyola himself, but tardily and with some reluctance. He thought, at first, that too many rules would hamper the adaptability of his Order. But gradually he came to see that legislation was necessary; and after working from time to time upon the *Constitutions*, he finished the first draft early in 1550: and they were confirmed, 1558, at the first General Chapter of the Order, when Lainez was elected as his successor.⁵ But they are Loyola's own handiwork; and "the story that Lainez introduced important modifications is entirely untrue."⁶ They also insist on the primary obligation of obedience: first to the Pope, and then to the General. Though even "a kind of blind obedience"⁷—such as a soldier must give to his superior officer—Ignatius, when speaking of it here, as elsewhere, commonly limits its scope to things which are not sinful.⁸ Short of this, the relation of those who live

¹ *C.M.H.*, ii. 657 sq.

² Contemplation to obtain Love: Rickaby, 209; Mirbt⁴, No. 433, p. 280.

³ Mirbt⁴, No. 433, p. 280.

⁴ *Ib.*, No. 431.

⁵ Pastor, xii 59.

⁶ *E.R.E.*, vii. 502.

⁷ "Caeca quadam obedientia." *Const.*, VI, c. i.; *ap.* Mirbt⁴, No. 431 (p. 276, l. 34).

⁸ "The charge that St Ignatius in the very text of his *Constitutions* (VI. 5) empowers a superior to bind his subjects to obedience, even though compliance with the order involves the commission of a grievous sin—the famous *obligatio ad peccatum*—is based on a ridiculous misinterpretation of a formula well known to the early canonists." *E.R.E.*, vii. 501.

under obedience to their superiors is "to let themselves be ruled as if they were a corpse," or "like a staff in the hand of an aged man."¹ Startling figures of speech: but simply intended to convey the notion of a "perfect obedience," where the will and the judgment of the subordinate are identified with those of his superior.

Fourth,—and closely connected with the *Constitutions* in this point—should be reckoned Loyola's *Letter on the virtue of obedience*,² addressed on 26 March 1533, to the members of his Order in Portugal. "We may easily suffer ourselves," he writes, "to be surpassed by other Religious Orders in fasting, watching, and other austerities of diet and clothing, which they practise according to their rule, but in true and perfect obedience and the abnegation of our will and judgment, I greatly desire, most dear brethren, that those who serve God in this Society should be conspicuous."

§ 2. Proceeding, next, to the organisation of the Society, it sprang from the recognition by its founder of the necessity not merely of obedience but of training. Instead of a year's novitiate, as in the older Orders, the novices entered upon a two years' course of preparation, spent partly on the *Exercises* and partly in submission to tests of the most varied kind. At the end of the novitiate, some took up the household work and secular business of the Order, under the three usual vows; and thenceforward were known as *Coadjutors Temporal*. Others left the houses of the novices, and entered one of the colleges of the Order as *Scholastics*: being under the vows, and members of the Order. This part of their training occupied several years. At the end of it, after ordination to the priesthood, the *Scholastic* repeated his three vows, and added an oath to devote himself to the education of youth. He thus became a *Coadjutor Spiritual*. As such, he was admitted an active member of the Society; and devoted himself to its three primary tasks³ of preaching, hearing confessions, and teaching his pupils, who might be

¹ "Perinde ac si caraveris esse. . . vel similiter atque senis baculus" *Const.*, VI, 1, Mirbt⁴, No. 431 (p. 276, ll. 39 sq.).

² Mirbt⁴, No. 432.

³ Per publicas prædicationes . . . et nominatim per puerorum ac rudium in Christianismo institutionem ac Christianidelum in confessionibus audiendis. Paul III., *Reg. mil. eccl.*, § 4; Mirbt⁴, No. 430, *ERE.*, VII, 501. Cf. our Lord's method—preaching, teaching, healing. Matthew IV. 23; IX. 15.

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either internal or external to the Order. This was the ordinary Jesuit's career. "Thus, apart from a few exceptional cases, the fully fledged Jesuit was and is bound to be a man well over thirty, who, for at least a dozen years, has been going through a process of formation under strict control—a large part of his time having been spent in study, three years in purely spiritual discipline and, ordinarily speaking, another long period in the teaching, a moral supervision, of youth." With the Coadjutor Spiritual ranked one other grade, and above him yet another. The *Professed of Three Vows* were usually men of more advanced years or some position to whom the Society wished to keep its doors open, without requiring the usual discipline. The chief or, in fact, the sole real members of the Order were the *Professed of Four Vows*: i.e. the vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience to the General, with a fourth to the Pope, *circa missiones*, of absolute obedience. They alone enjoyed all the privileges of the Order; but, on an average, not more than two per cent of its members attain this status. The whole Society was governed by the *General*. He was elected for life from among the *Professed of Four Vows*. He was practically absolute; and Gregory XIV, 1590–†1, in the Bull *Ecclesiae catholicae* by which he approved the *Constitutions* in every detail calls "the government frankly monarchical, and dependent upon the will of a single superior."¹ But some check was imposed upon him by the *Congregations Provincial* (consisting of *Professed of Four Vows*, Rectors of Colleges and Universities, and the Provincial), by the *General Congregation* (made up of delegates from the Provincial Congregations) and, above all, by the *Consultors*. These, as they kept watch in the General's interest upon Rectors and Provincials, also kept watch upon the General himself in the interests of the Order, lest he should depart from its essential principles.²

¹ *E R E.*, vii. 502.

² A further "authority" has been sought in the *Monita Secreta*, 1612. "But these are a forgery, professing to contain secret instructions drawn up by the General Acquaviva, 1581–†1615. . . . A bold caricature of Jesuit methods. . . . It consists of suggestions and methods for extending the influence of the Jesuits in various ways, for securing a foothold in fresh places, for acquiring wealth and . . . all marked with ambition, craft and unscrupulousness." *Enc. Brit.*¹¹, xv. 431. Cf. *E R E.*, vii. 502.

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§ 3. On the election of Lainez to be General, 1556-†65, the military autocracy so constituted set out to carry on the work of the Founder: and the development of the Jesuit Order, though not instituted with the definite purpose of combating Protestantism, went on hand in hand with the Counter-Reformation. The state of Protestantism¹ at this time promised well for the final victory of the reaction against it.

(1) At the death of Paul IV, 18 August 1559, the tide of Protestantism had almost reached its flood. Paul himself was one of its most effectual promoters. In England he recalled Pole and offended Mary. By demanding the restitution of the abbey lands, he threw the nobles into the arms of the Reformers. By asking for the renewal of Peter's-pence he lost favour with the people. By insulting Elizabeth, he drove her, against her will, to become the champion of Protestantism abroad, while she was refusing it toleration at home. In Scotland, Paul, by espousing the French Catholic interest out of hatred to Spain, created a party at once nationalist and Protestant which, aided by Elizabeth, robbed the Holy See of its allegiance. In Germany, Paul's rancour against the Hapsburgs forced the Emperor Ferdinand I to be more conciliatory towards the Protestants. Germany was governed by the moderates of both sides; and, by their consent, the ecclesiastical foundations of Lower Germany passed over into Protestant hands. The temporal power of the papacy thus proved the worst enemy of its spiritual greatness. At the time of the death of Paul IV, Scandinavia and Great Britain had wholly gone; Germany was predominantly Protestant; Bohemia, Hungary and Poland were in a tumult; in France and the Netherlands numbers were gathering under the banners of Geneva. Only Spain and Italy stood firm to the papacy.²

(2) By the close of the Council of Trent, the Teutonic and Slavonic nations had revolted. The former were Lutheran; but Calvinism occurs as a recognised form of orthodox Protestantism in Poland, Hungary and Transylvania; and as its dominant form in England, Scotland, the Netherlands and the Palatinate. To proceed to detail:—

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, Bk. V, § 1.

² Report of the Venetian ambassador to Rome in 1568, quoted in Ranke, i. 406 n.

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(a) In Scandinavia, the tenets of Protestantism had established themselves all the more securely from the fact that they came in with new dynasties and national greatness. Denmark,¹ relieved of Sweden by the dissolution of the Union of Calmar, 1397-1524, and about the same time of tyranny by the deposition of Christian II, 1513-23 (†1559), was completely Lutheranised by Johann Bugenhagen, 1485-†1558, under Christian III, 1534-†1558. Norway,² still politically united with Denmark, became Lutheran in his reign; and the last representatives of Catholicism disappeared from the Faroe Islands and Iceland³ by 1552. Sweden⁴ became a nation, conscious of its independence, under Gustavus Vasa, 1523-†160. After liberating his country from dependence upon Denmark, he built up his throne on the ruins of the ancient Church. His Swedish governors were accompanied by Lutheran preachers to the most distant shores of Lapland. By his will, he exhorted his heirs to maintain the evangelical doctrines, and almost made them a condition of succession to the crown.

(b) Prussia, which did not become a kingdom till 1701, then included the Mark of Brandenburg under the Elector Joachim II, 1535-†171; Western⁵ or Polish Prussia, subject to the King of Poland; and Eastern Prussia, ruled by Albert, Duke of Prussia, 1525-†168, under the suzerainty of Poland. The minor states of Curland and Livonia, which lay east of its border, belonged to Poland. Of these, the Duchy of Prussia came into existence and became Protestant in 1525.⁶ The Mark went over to Lutheranism, 1539:⁷ Polish Prussia between 1557-60;⁸ while Curland and Livonia⁹ submitted

¹ D.C.R., Nos 100, 131, 132, 132A. ² *Ib.*, Nos 132A, 133, 134.

³ The last bishops were: Faroe Islands, Amund Olafson, 1533-?; Iceland, (a) Holum, Jonas Arasen, 1520-50, (b) Skalholt, Augmund Pauli, 1521-†142.

⁴ D.C.R., Nos 74, 75, 101, 102.

⁵ Western Prussia became Polish Prussia by its submission, 1366, to Casimir III, King of Poland, 1330-†70, in order to escape from the oppression of the Teutonic Order.

⁶ D.C.R., Nos 91, 92.

⁷ *Ib.*, No. 130.

⁸ Sigismund Augustus, King of Poland, 1548-†72, by granting religious liberty to the towns of Danzig, Thorn and Elbing, facilitated the triumph of Protestant opinions, c. 1560. Hardwick, *Ref.*, 74.

⁹ It was not as King of Poland, but as Grand Duke of Lithuania, Sigismund Augustus occupied Livonia, 1561. At his camp before Riga, the last Grand Master of the Order of the Sword, Gotthard von Ketteler, who had long been at the head of the Polish party in Livonia, and

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to Poland, 1561-2, on condition of liberty to hold the Confession of Augsburg. With Esthonia, they had become completely Lutheran¹ by 1554.

(c) Poland,² in the fifteenth century, became a place of refuge for Hussites from Bohemia until their influence was reduced by the Edict of Wielun, 1424. But the ground was thus prepared for reforming tendencies. The actual Reformation developed in three stages. The first, 1518-40, was a period of beginnings; the second, 1540-8, of speedier progress; and these two covered the reign of Sigismund I, 1506-†48. He was an uncompromising Catholic, and put out a series of edicts. They were rarely enforced; and this affords evidence that heresy was spreading. For a time, the heretics found refuge in the Duchy of Prussia. Here Lutheranism had been the established religion since 1525, and the University of Königsberg became a seminary for Polish pastors. They returned thence to spread the new doctrines in their own country: and thus Lutheranism threatened Poland from the north. A little later, Calvinism invaded it from the West. Already, in 1539, Calvin himself anticipated its arrival by dedicating to the Crown Prince his *Commentary on the Mass*; and from 1545 onwards conversions to Calvinism became common, especially among the nobles, in Little Poland. The Bohemian Brethren entered the country 1548, and powerfully affected Great Poland.³

In that year, the Crown Prince succeeded as Sigismund II (Augustus), 1548-†72. He also was a Catholic; but more conciliatory than his father: and the Reformers hoped much of him because he married Barbara, sister of Nicholas

William of Brandenburg, Archbishop of Riga, 1529-†63, placed themselves beneath his protection and, by a subsequent convention signed at Wilna, 28 November 1561, Livonia was incorporated with Lithuania, in much the same way as Prussia had been incorporated with Poland thirty-six years previously. Ketteler, a Lutheran since 1553, now professed the Augsburg Confession, and became the first Duke of a new Protestant duchy, to be held as a fief of the Polish crown, with local autonomy and freedom of worship. *Enc. Brit.*¹¹, xxi. 910. He also did homage for Semigallia and Curland

¹ Boehmer, 129.

² V. Krasinski, *Reformation in Poland* (1838), Paul Fox, *Ref. in Poland* (Baltimore, U.S.A., 1924), *C M H.*, iii. 73 sqq; *Enc Brit*¹¹, xxi 908 sq

³ Fox, 41. Little Poland is Western Poland, the country round Posen; Great Poland lies to the south, Cracow and the upper basin of the Vistula,

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Radziwill, 1515-†65, a magnate of Lithuania. She and her brother were both Calvinists. This alliance coincided with the third period of the Reformation in Poland, 1548-73: the period of its dominance.

But the reformers expected too much. The success of their propaganda owed much to temporary causes: political and social rather than religious. Thus the nobles were jealous of the Church because its privileges were greater than their own; and Reform became less a religious than a class movement.¹ The lives of bishops and clergy, as scandalous as in contemporary Scotland, gave great offence. There was "Pint-pot" Latuski, Bishop of Posen, 1536-†8, who bought his wife for 12,000 ducats from Queen Bona,² and Peter "the Wencher," Bishop of Przemyśl, 1536-8. And this hierarchy had great wealth,³ twice that of the Crown⁴ and one-third of that of the whole country.⁵ Yet they claimed exemption from public burdens; although, as magnates, the bishops exercised political influence which could only be justified by willingness to share the responsibilities attaching to it. On the other hand, the lower clergy were badly off: and sided with the nobles against the hierarchy. With little or no education available at home, clerics and nobles went off, in search of it, to Universities at Königsberg, Wittenberg, or Leipzig; and returned, as Protestants, to spread their gospel at home. Such was the situation at the opening of the reign of Sigismund Augustus. The Church may have been unpopular, but the people shewed no inclination to change their religion.⁶ The bishops, however, thought it wise to bid for the support of the new King by including the Queen, though a Calvinist, in the rites of coronation, 7 December 1550: and Sigismund Augustus responded, 12 December, by an edict in which he announced his intention of maintaining the unity of the Church and enforcing the law against heresy. Thereupon the bishops, instead of putting their own house in order first, took courage to begin suits against heretics. They

¹ Fox, 83.

² She was daughter of Gian Galeazzo Sforza, Duke of Milan, 1476-†94, and second wife of Sigismund I, 1506-†48.

³ It amounted in Great Poland to 10 per cent, and in Little Poland to 13 per cent of the land of the province. Fox, 84 sq.

⁴ *Ib.*, 88.

⁵ *Ib.*, 95.

⁶ *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 190.

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raised a storm; but at the Diet of Piotrkow, 1552, a compromise was effected by the King; and, while the bishops were to forgo, for twelve months only, their exercise of jurisdiction in the ecclesiastical courts, the nobles, in acknowledgment of this concession, were to continue to pay their tithes.¹ There followed a period during which reform made rapid progress, 1552-65. The reforming party dominated all the diets;² and, in Little Poland, about 1556, John Laski, nephew of John VIII (Laski), Archbishop of Gnesen and Primate of Poland, 1516-†31, and now in flight from the Marian reaction in England, made many converts and became Superintendent of the Reformed.³ At the Diet of Piotrkow, 1558-9, the nobles demanded the exclusion of the bishops from any share in the election of the King;⁴ and at the Diet of Warsaw, 1565, the last blow was administered to the effectiveness of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.⁵ In 1573 toleration became part of the Polish constitution, to be sworn to by each king at his accession.⁶

But this epoch represents the high-water mark of Polish Protestantism; and from about 1570 began its decline. The decline was due, in part, to toleration; for, in consequence of it, Poland became the theatre of all the warring sects. Among them, Lutherans and Calvinists drew together for mutual protection in the *Consensus of Sandomin*,⁷ 1570, to the exclusion of Socinians. These, however, persisted in their opinions, and formulated them in the *Racovian Catechism*,⁸ 1605. A second cause of the decline was the Catholic revival. The peasants were little concerned in the jealousies of bishops and nobles, or in the creeds of rival sectaries. They maintained a dull, but obstinate, loyalty to the old religion. In 1564, the King accepted the decrees of Trent, and ordered the banishment of heretics, especially of anti-Trinitarians.⁹ New bishops came to the front, who

¹ Fox, 45.

² *Ib.*, 46.

³ John Laski, 1499-†1560, worked "faithfully, though fruitlessly," for a union of the Lutherans with the other two Protestant bodies, the Calvinists of Little Poland and the Bohemian Brethren of Great Poland, who had already been united at the Synod of Kozminck, August 1555; *ib.*, 48.

⁴ *Ib.*, 57 sq.

⁵ *Ib.*, 61.

⁶ *Ib.*, 62.

⁷ H. A. Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, 551-61, *D.C.R.*, No. 322.

⁸ *Catechesis ecclesiarum* (Racoviae, 1609); tr. T. Rees, *The Racovian Catechism* (Longman, 1818).

⁹ By decrees of 7 August; Pastor, xvi. 149.

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were holy and learned men. The papal nuncios, Bernardo Bongiovanni, Bishop of Camerino, 1537-†74, and Giovanni Francesco Commendone,¹ Bishop of Zante, 1555-†84, and Cardinal, 1565, visited Poland. The latter, in company with Stanislaus Hosius,² Bishop of Ermeland, 1551-†79, and Cardinal, 1561—"two men made, as it were, of steel and granite"—saved the Church in Poland. It was they who had obtained the acceptance of the decrees of Trent: and "it was due to both Cardinals that one of the most powerful instruments for the Catholic restoration, the Jesuits," were introduced into Poland, 1565.³

(d) Hungary,⁴ with Transylvania, lay between the hereditary dominions of the Hapsburgs and the Ottoman Empire. In 1521, Suleiman the Magnificent, 1520-†66, advanced to the north-west and captured Belgrade; but his further progress was delayed by campaigns for the conquest of Egypt and the Knights of Rhodes. Then he returned; and, at the battle of Mohacz, 29 August 1526, inflicted a fatal defeat on Louis, King of Bohemia and Hungary, 1516-†26. The King, with two archbishops, five bishops⁵ and twenty-four thousand men perished on the field. Again the Turks withdrew. But they left the country a prey to civil war. The crown was disputed between John Zapolya, Prince of Transylvania, 1487-†1540, and Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria, who claimed it by right of inheritance through his wife Anne, the sister of Louis. Ferdinand succeeded in driving his rival back to his principality; and, November 1527, was crowned King of Hungary. Long wars, however, ensued between the two rivals; until, at last, they were brought to a close, 24 February 1538, by the peace of Nagyvarad (Grosswardein). By the terms of this treaty, Ferdinand retained Western Hungary, about a third of the whole; and left the remainder to Zapolya. He regarded his narrow strip of territory as a barrier between his hereditary dominions and the advance of the Turk. Zapolya, on

¹ *Cath. Enc.*, iv 156.

² *Ib.*, vii. 473.

³ *Pastor*, xvi 152.

⁴ C. Hardwick, *Ref.*, 88 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, vii. 553 sqq.; and *History of the Protestant Church in Hungary*, tr. J. Craig (1854)

⁵ The Archbishop of Gran, with his suffragans of Fünfkirchen and Raab, and the Archbishop of Colocsa, with the Bishops of Csanad, Wardein and Bosma.

the other hand, though he owed his kingdom to the support of the Sultan, found it stable and prosperous owing to the wise administration of George Martinuzzi, Bishop of Grosswardein, 1534-†71. In 1540 John Zapolya died; and the Estates of Hungary elected his infant son, John Sigismund, to be King of Hungary, despite the treaty of Grosswardein by which Ferdinand had been formally acknowledged as successor to Zapolya, whether he left heirs male or not. Ferdinand forthwith asserted his claim. But the Turk had no intention of allowing Buda-Pesth to fall into the hands of the Hapsburgs; and Suleiman advanced against him. A long war followed, 1541-6; until agreement was reached for a partition of Hungary, 1547, between Ferdinand, John Sigismund Zapolya, the first of a long line of semi-independent Transylvanian princes, and the Sultan. Austria was to hold the western strip, extending from the Adriatic to Bartfa; Eastern Hungary fell to Transylvania; while the centre of the country was retained by the Turks who administered it through the Viceroy of Buda.

These long wars left the country open to the advance of heresy with impunity. In Hungary, except in the towns where German influence prevailed, the Reformation made slow progress; for the Magyar population detested anything made in Germany and clung to the old religion. But Lutheranism found a native exponent in Matthias Dévay,¹ c. 1500-†45: a favourite pupil of the Reformers at Wittenberg, 1523-9. Returning to Buda 1531, he published translations of the New Testament, 1533-6, and established himself, 1537, in the dominions of Ferdinand between the Raab and Lake Balaton. But about 1544 he abandoned the Lutheran for the Swiss doctrine of the Eucharist. Prolonged and bitter controversies between rival sects ensued: until "the great majority of the Hungarian reformers evinced their bias for the Calvinistic dogmas. Their *Confessio Czsengerina*,² 1557-8, is strongly marked by such peculiarities, and is still the common Confession of the Reformed in Hungary. In 1566," by adopting the *Second Helvetic Confession* ³ of that year, "they openly united themselves with the Swiss School."⁴

¹ Hauck-Herzog, *Realencyclopädie*², iv. 595-8.

² Niemeyer, 539 sqq.; *DCR*, No. 320.

³ Niemeyer, 462-536.

⁴ Hardwick, 91.

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The situation was different in Transylvania: where, since the introduction of German immigrants, c. 1150, "Saxons formed the chief ingredient of the population. At Hermannstadt and other towns the monks and nuns, who had clamoured for the execution of the penal edicts, were driven from their cloisters and threatened with death itself, if they persisted in refusing 'to live according to the Gospel.'"¹ One of the more active propagandists was John Honter,² 1498-†1549. In 1543 he established a printing office in his native town of Cronstadt. There he introduced the Reformation³ in 1542, and became pastor, 1544. A Church Order⁴ followed. By the press, as well as from the pulpit, he spread the new opinions. Within a generation they gained the ascendant; and Isabella, the widow of John Zapolya, "on finding that the Reformation party had become politically superior to their adversaries, in 1557 granted like privileges to that class of them who recognised the Augsburg Confession. Similar concessions were at length extended to the Transylvanian followers of the Swiss. Nor was toleration restricted to these three varieties of 'orthodox' Christianity. John Sigismund afterwards included among 'authorised' religions that propounded by the anti-Trinitarians of Poland; who, on failing to establish their principles in Hungary proper, retired into Transylvania, and infected nearly all the inhabitants of Clausenburg."⁵ An Italian physician, George Biandatra,⁶ 1520-†82, became their leader, 1563: and a synod held at Wardein openly repudiated the doctrine of the Holy Trinity.⁷

With these rivalries among themselves, the reformers, whether in Hungary or Transylvania, were but asking for defeat from the Jesuits once they launched their attack.

(e) In Germany,⁸ and German lands, things were much the same. Taking the ten circles of the Empire (created by

¹ Order of the Town Council of Hermannstadt, 8 February 1529; Craig, 49.

² Hauck-Herzog³, viii. 333-40.

³ *Formula Reformationis Ecclesiae Coronensis*; *ib.*, 337.

⁴ *Reformatio ecclesiarum Saxonicarum in Transilvania* (Latin, 1543; German, 1547); *ib.*, 338.

⁵ Hardwick, 91.

⁶ For a sketch of him, see T. Rees, *The Racovian Catechism*, Introduction, pp. xxv sqq, xli.

⁷ Craig 86.

⁸ Ranke, i 395 sqq.

Maximilian I in 1512), we find that, about 1563, in Lower Germany Protestantism predominated and in Upper Germany it was active and bade fair to become permanent. To (1) the Burgundian circle belonged the Netherlands. Here, after thirty-six thousand Protestants had been put to death, the *Confessio Belgica*,¹ 1562, marks at once the numerical importance of the Reformed congregations and the Swiss affinities of their theology. In Germany, Protestantism had acquired legal recognition by the Peace of Augsburg, 1555, and was now in course of occupying the several States. Thus, in (2) the Westphalian circle, there were Lutheranising bishops of Münster, Protestant cities like Paderborn, indifferent Catholic rulers like Duke William of Cleves, 1539-†92, who countenanced the new religion in their territories. The circles of (3) Upper and (4) Lower Saxony were both Protestant. In the circle of (5) Franconia, the bishoprics of Würzburg and Bamberg lost the greater part of their nobles, the episcopal officials, magistrates, burghers and people to reform. In Upper Germany, even in (6) Bavaria, the greater part of the nobles and many towns were inclined to Protestantism and the Duke had to make concessions in 1556. The Archbishop of Salzburg could not contend against popular defection. In (7) the Austrian circle only three per cent remained true to the Catholic religion. In (8) the Swabian circle, the cities of Lindau and Memmingen had become parties, with Strassburg and Constance, to the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*,² 1530. The circle of (9) the Upper Rhine included Hesse, where the Landgrave Philip, 1518-†67, had been on the point of adopting the radical opinions of Francis Lambert, 1487-†1530, at the Synod of Homberg,³ 20 October 1526, but modified them, at Luther's advice, in favour of a less drastic reform. In the circle of (10) the Lower Rhine, to which belonged the great Electorates and the Palatinate, we find a Protestant party of considerable strength in all the towns—Köln, Trier, Mainz, Aachen—while the nobles received the Protestant doctrines and allowed the Spiritual Sovereigns to make no encroachments upon their liberty. In the Palatinate, where the old religion was finally put away in 1546, differences had been rife before. It became notorious

¹ Niemeyer, 360-89.² *Ib.*, 740 sqq : *D.C.R.*, No. 226.³ *D.C.R.*, No. 98

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for the acrimony of strife between Gnesio-Lutherans and Crypto-Calvinists: and a modified Calvinism triumphed in the *Heidelberg Catechism*,¹ 1563, under the Elector-Palatine, Frederick III, 1557-†176. In a word, Protestant and Reformed together had a decided ascendancy throughout the Empire. The nobles and the public functionaries embraced it. The people were greatly influenced by it. In 1558 a Venetian ambassador estimates the Catholics at only ten per cent of the population. Church property—sees and convents—fell into Protestant hands. "About a hundred monasteries are said to have fallen victims in the Palatinate alone: and an almost equal number, the gleanings of a richer harvest, which had been reaped before the Convention of Passau, 1552, were taken possession of in Northern Germany."² Protestantism also dominated the Universities—even Köln, Ingolstadt, Dillingen, Vienna—and the schools.

(f) In France,³ the first signs of reform appeared in quarters influenced by Humanism, with Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples⁴ (Faber Stapulensis) 1455-†1536. He and his friends enjoyed the favour of Francis I and his sister, the "literary and eccentric" Princess Margaret of Angoulême.⁵ But they had powerful enemies: as well at Court as in the Sorbonne and the Parliament of Paris—the two institutions by which, under the Crown, the unity of France was sustained. With Francis, this unity (expressed not, indeed, by the maxim *Cuius regio eius religio* but by its equivalent *Une foi, une loi, un roi*) was the first consideration. Repression, therefore, was inevitable. But it took place at intervals: after the affair of the Placards⁶ against the Mass, 1534, when Calvin had to make good his escape from Paris, by an edict of 25 January 1535; by the edict of Fontainebleau, 1 June 1540, which made heresy cognisable in the royal courts; and, 1545, by the massacre of the Vaudois in the villages of

¹ Niemeyer, 390-461 (German and Latin); tr. E. A. Knox, *Pastors and Teachers* (1902), 200-24: D.C.R., No. 321.

² S. R. Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*, II.

³ See preface to D.C.R., Nos. 323-30 for this account.

⁴ *Cath. Enc.*, ix. 114

⁵ Also known as Margaret of Valois; and so not infrequently confounded with the more notorious Margaret of Valois, daughter of Henry II and first Queen of Henry IV, who was himself the grandson of Margaret of Angoulême. Hardwick, *Ref.*, 123, n. 2.

⁶ D.C.R., No. 272.

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Merindol and Cabrières, not far from Avignon. These outbreaks, however, "did not prevent negotiation with Lutherans abroad. Indeed, the aims of Francis were, at best, political, to cement an alliance against the Emperor" and to keep France quiet behind him. But, on his death, 31 March 1547, the prospect of reform in France taking shape under Lutheran influences disappeared.

He was succeeded by his son, the dissolute yet orthodox Henry II, 1547-†59; and "Lutheranism" by a Calvinistic propaganda. Henry met this more militant religion by a series of measures for its extinction; by, 8 October 1547, the *Chambre Ardente*, which pronounced five hundred sentences between December 1547 and January 1550; by the edict of 19 November 1549, which submitted cases of heresy, accompanied by public scandal, to the civil courts; by, 27 June 1551, the edict of Chateaubriant¹ which made their sentence final; and, after failure of attempts, 1555-7, to introduce the Inquisition, by, 24 July 1557, the edict of Compiègne² which left the judges no option of inflicting any penalty save that of death.

The cruelties that followed only served, under the inspiration of Calvin, to stiffen the resistance, swell the numbers, and perfect the organisation of the Reformed. Thus, December 1552, Calvin wrote to encourage the Five Scholars³ who perished at Lyons, 16 May 1553. In September 1555 the first minister was chosen and the first congregation organised at Paris.⁴ Other places followed suit, till there were seventy-two congregations by 1559; and ministers were either asked or sent from Geneva, to the number of nineteen in 1559, twelve in 1560, and ninety in 1561. On 26 May 1559 there met in Paris the first national synod.⁵ It adopted for its formulary of faith the *Confession de Foi*⁶ or *Confessio Gallicana*,⁷ the work of one of Calvin's pupils—and for its constitution the *Discipline Ecclésiastique*.⁸ In 1561, according to the report of the Venetian ambassador, the influence of Calvin was alarming. He found three-fourths of the kingdom filled with Pro-

¹ D.C.R., No. 323.

² *Ib.*, No. 324.

³ *Ib.*, No. 325.

⁴ *Ib.*, No. 326.

⁵ *Ib.*, No. 327.

⁶ Niemeyer, 311 *sqq.*; P. Schaff, *Creeds of Christendom*, iii. 356 *sqq.*; D.C.R., No. 328.

⁷ Niemeyer, 327 *sqq.*

⁸ D.C.R., No. 329.

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testantism.¹ The authority enjoyed by Theodore Beza, 1519-†1605, and his fellows at the Colloquy of Poissy,² September 1561, was imposing: for there the Reformed discussed, on equal terms with the authorities, spiritual and temporal, of the realm, plans for a national settlement of religion. Further, the Huguenot organisation gave them a strength in excess of their numbers. These in Paris were, 1562, not more than 8000 out of 300,000; and in the country at large, they are reckoned as from "a seventeenth to a tenth of the whole population."³ But by adopting the Genevan system, with its congregations, consistories and synods, the Reformed had a political and military organisation ready to hand which made their alliance of value. There were parties, after the accession of Francis II, 1559-†60, and his wife Mary Queen of Scots, only too ready to seek it. The Guises sought to direct the Crown: for Mary was the daughter of Mary of Guise, †1560: whose brothers were Francis, Duke of Guise, †1563, and Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine, †1574. They became the leaders of the Catholic party. Their rivals were the Bourbons: headed by Anthony, 1537-†62, King of Navarre in right of his wife, Jeanne d'Albret, 1555-†72, the cousin of Henry II, and his younger brothers, the Cardinal Bourbon, †1590, and Louis, Prince of Condé, †1569. As Princes of the Blood they claimed the direction of affairs, and resented the dominance of the Guises who were upstarts and foreigners from Lorraine. Besides these two leading factions, there was a third: consisting of the dissatisfied nobility, headed by Anne de Montmorency, 1492-†1567, Constable of France, with his three nephews, the Châtillon brothers—Odet, Cardinal Châtillon,⁴ †1571; the Admiral Gaspard Coligny, †1572; and François, Marquis d'Andelot, †1569—who all went over to Huguenotism. Condé and Coligny represented the religious and Montmorency the political opposition to the control exercised by the Guises over the government of

¹ Ranke, i 403; and *D.C.R.*, No. 330.

² W. H. Jervis, *Hist. Ch France*, i. 140 *sqq.*

³ *Ib.*, 127.

⁴ The Cardinal became Archbishop of Toulouse at the age of eighteen, and Count-Bishop of Beauvais at nineteen. He married, and his wife became known as "Madame la Cardinale." He was deprived by Pius IV on 21 March 1563 *Pastor*, xvi 191.

Francis II. The Huguenots, therefore, at the opening of the Wars of Religion 1562-98, might look for powerful support because of their own well-organised strength. They were strong enough, though a small minority, to be accorded, 17 January 1562, by the Edict of St Germain a toleration which survived the long struggle in, 13 April 1598, the Edict of Nantes.

§ 4. With reform so widespread and so deep-rooted in most of the countries north of the Alps, it was no light task that the Jesuits undertook. But between the death of their founder and the Massacre of St Bartholomew, when Protestantism had reached the maximum of its influence, they made considerable progress. Not force, but teaching, preaching and hearing confessions were their weapons.

(1) In Germany, their educational work soon established itself.¹ It took root in three centres—Vienna, Köln and Ingolstadt: and from each extended to neighbouring places.

In 1551, Ferdinand, at the advice of his confessor, Urban, Bishop of Laibach, 1544-†58, established Le Jay and twelve companions in Vienna; and gave them a residence, chapel and pensions. They were incorporated with the University; and afterwards put into control of it. Thence, within a few years, they proceeded, under Ferdinand's patronage as King of Bohemia, to Prague, 1556. Here they set up a school for young nobles. From Prague they passed on to Tyrnau in Hungary, through the influence of Nicholas VI Olahus,² Archbishop of Gran [Esztergom], 1553-†68, Primate of Hungary and a friend of the philo-Austrian party. From this centre they set about reclaiming Hungarian priests and pastors from heresy. Then, through the favour of William, Bishop of Olmütz, 1565-†72, to his episcopal city and to Brünn, both in Moravia.

In 1556, the endowed school at Köln, whose Rector had hitherto been a Protestant, fell into their hands, chiefly owing to the influence of Dr John Gropper,³ 1503-†59. Hence they spread over the Rhenish provinces to Trier: where, by the favour of John von der Leyen, Archbishop-Elector, 1556-†67, they opened a college at Coblenz, 3 February 1561. Invited by Daniel von Homburg, Arch-

¹ Ranke, Bk. V § 3; Boehmer, 104 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 90.

² *Cath. Enc.*, xi. 234.

³ *Ib.*, vii. 36.

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bishop-Elector of Mainz, 1555-†82, they opened a college at Mainz and a school at Aschaffenburg. So they passed on to Speier: a post of special importance, because the Supreme Court of the Empire met there, with its high functionaries to be influenced, and because it served as a basis of operations against Heidelberg and the Palatinate. Having thus planted themselves in the chief towns of the Rhine, the Jesuits passed up the Main, found a cordial welcome at Würzburg, and thence spread throughout Franconia: thanks to Ferdinand's address to the bishops in 1559, bidding them exert themselves to the utmost for the maintenance of Holy Church.

On 7 July 1556,¹ the Jesuits, eighteen in number, entered Ingolstadt. Duke Albert V of Bavaria, 1550-†79, having had to make considerable concessions to Protestants, felt it necessary to summon to his aid these new defenders of the faith. They made the University of Ingolstadt their own: and it became to Catholic Germany what Wittenberg was to Protestant. Thence they spread, 1559, to Munich, sometimes called the Rome of Germany; and, 1563, to Dillingen where, by arrangement with Cardinal Otto Truchsess,² Bishop of Augsburg, 1543-†73, they took over the professorial chairs. And thence, to Augsburg. Thus Bavaria was soon subjugated to them: and, about the same time, they passed on to Innsbruck and Hall in the Tyrol, by the desire of the daughters of Ferdinand.

(2) In Poland,³ they pursued the same policy, with equal success. In 1558 Canisius paid a visit of inquiry. It did not lead at once to any definite result; but Polish youths began to attend the Jesuit schools at Vienna, among them St Stanislas Kostka,⁴ 1550-†68, who fell under the influence of Canisius and afterwards became the patron saint of Poland. In 1564 Cardinal Hosius⁵ wrote to the General Lainez, asking for some members of the Society. He responded by sending some from Rome and some from Lower Germany, with Christopher Strombelius at their head

"On their arrival, Hosius located them in a vacant

¹ For this, and the state of things in Bavaria, see Boehmer, 110 sq.

² *Cath. Enc.*, xv. 69

³ A. F. Pollard, *The Jesuits in Poland*; Boehmer, 129.

⁴ *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 245. ⁵ *Ib.* vii 473 sq.

monastery which had once belonged to the Franciscans at Braunsberg, near Frauenburg, where," as Bishop of Ermland, "he had his episcopal residence, and they received material help from the canons. Their arrival was also welcomed by Commendone, the papal Legate, who attached one of them, Balthasar Hostovinus, to himself, and took him on his visitations to aid in the foundation of colleges. Andreas IV Noskowski, Bishop of Plock (Plotzk), 1546-†67, whose residence was at Pultusk, was induced to found a college in that city. In 1566 Canisius made a second visit to Poland, and induced Valerian, Bishop of Wilna 1555-†79, who was well-stricken in years, to signalise his last days by the establishment of a Jesuit College. . . . The settlement at Braunsberg . . . was converted, 1569, into a regular college. A fourth college was founded at Posen, 1571, by its bishop, Adam Konarski, 1562-†74, who persuaded the authorities of the city to give them one of its principal churches with two hospitals and a school, while he endowed them with an estate and made them a present of his library. Sigismund viewed these proceedings with . . . approbation . . . and "James "Uchanski," Archbishop of Gnesen 1562-†81, and Primate of Poland, "became one of the foremost patrons of the Order. His example was followed by many of the bishops, who relied more on the zeal of the new Order than on the efforts of the local clergy."¹

This rapid progress had the effect of stirring up the reforming parties to fresh activity. It resulted in the *Consensus of Sandomir*, 1570, and in a resolution, carried at the election-diet of Warsaw, 6 January 1573, to the effect that no one should be injured or persecuted on account of his religion. Tithes were abolished in 1579, to the detriment of 1200 parishes whose priests were left destitute. And a supreme court of judicature was established, composed of laity and clergy, which decided all cases, ecclesiastical as well as temporal.

This reaction, however, in favour of the Reformers, was entirely neutralised by their own dissensions, which also rendered their numerical preponderance useless. When Henry, Duke of Anjou (afterwards Henry III of France 1574-†89), was elected King, 1574, he reigned only four

¹ Pollard, 21 sq.

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months, and fled the country. For his chances were ruined by the Massacre of St Bartholomew, 24 August 1572, and he hoped to gain the Crown of France, on the death of his brother, Charles IX, 1560-†74. The Polish diet then proceeded to elect Stephen Batory, 1575-†87, Prince of Transylvania and a Protestant, on condition of his marrying Anne, sister of Sigismund Augustus, and last of the Jagellonian line. He saw that while "the Protestants outnumbered their opponents, the latter were far the best organised religious party in Poland, and afforded the firmest basis of support: moreover, he would have the external support of the Pope, if not of Austria, while Anne would never be brought to marry a Protestant. It was during his reign, and through the liberality of him and his wife that the Society of Jesus took firm root in Poland. . . . So great was their success that at the end of Batory's reign the members of the Society numbered over three hundred and sixty, possessing twelve colleges, besides residences and missions. From Braunsberg, Pultusk, Wilna and Posen, the four centres which the Society possessed at the beginning of the reign, it spread into almost every corner of Poland and Lithuania."¹

(3) In France, after the rapid progress made by the Huguenots, a reaction set in, 1562. In that year, Paris had to defend itself against the Huguenot forces under the Prince of Condé; and every public body, as well as the populace, became zealously Catholic. Under this revulsion of feeling the Jesuits established themselves.² They had to be content, at first, with small beginnings; and to face considerable opposition in large towns, especially in Paris, where they were opposed by the Sorbonne, the Parliament, and the bishop, Eustache du Bellay, 1551-†63: "who all believed their own interests liable to be prejudiced by the privileges and character of the Order." But they obtained the favour of the Court; acquired the Collège de Clermont, bequeathed to them by Guillaume du Prat, Bishop of Clermont 1528-†60, and were admitted to the privilege of teaching.³ They were already established in Lyons; had a college there in 1563; and were supported by great

¹ Pollard, 25 *sqq.*

² Boehmer, 89 *sqq.*

³ Jervis, *Hist Ch in France*, i. 146.

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preachers like Edmond Auger,¹ 1530-†91, whose *Catechism* in eight years had a sale of over 38,000 copies in Paris alone, as well as by learned exponents of Holy Scripture, such as Maldonatus,² 1534-†83. From Paris and Lyons they spread throughout the kingdom; and had important establishments at Lyons and Bordeaux. There followed a revival of religion in their wake: for, wherever they went, the number of communicants was observed to increase. In short, under the pressure of the Wars with the Huguenots, the Catholics could no longer refuse the help of their ablest champions.

§ 5. Such was the progress of the Order within a generation from its foundation. It was partly due to the fact that "there were many places where Protestant opinions had not yet made their way among the mass of the people. The majority of the peasantry throughout France, Poland and even Hungary remained Catholic."³ It was aided also by the princes who gave disused monasteries and their funds to start and support the new Jesuit colleges. The Jesuit system of education also made for rapid success. They seized upon the Universities. They acquired the Grammar Schools: and paid special attention to providing good teachers for the lower forms. They established schools for the poor; and attached great importance to the practice of catechising. They countered the easy-going, controversial and unsystematised theology of the mediæval schools with a clear and coherent system—one that "left no shadow of cause for doubt." And hence their phenomenal and well-deserved success. "In the year 1551 they had no settled position in Germany; in 1566 their institutions had possession of Bavaria and the Tyrol, Franconia and Swabia, a large part of the Rhenish provinces and Austria. They had penetrated also into Hungary, Bohemia and Moravia."⁴ The tide had turned in their favour in France; and their triumph was already assured in Poland.

¹ *Cath. Enc.*, II. 72 sq.

² *Ib.* xix. 567.

³ Rankc, I. 408.

⁴ *Ib.*, 415.

CHAPTER VI

THE GREAT POWERS AND THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL, c. 1572

§ 1. With the death of Charles V, 21 September 1558, the ideal of the mediæval Empire ceased to be the ruling factor of European politics. A year later the mediæval papacy became extinct with the death of Paul IV, 18 August 1559. Europe now became the theatre of the contest between rival nations. The vast ascendancy of Charles V, excepting the Empire which passed to his brother Ferdinand I, 1558-†64, descended unencumbered and entire to his son Philip II, King of Spain 1556-†98. He reigned for over forty years. His great aim was to extinguish heresy in Europe. For the first thirty years the Counter-Reformation was at its height. "It touched high-water mark with the Massacre of St Bartholomew. . . . The quarter of a century from 1564 to the death of Sixtus V in 1590 is the active period of the movement. It begins when the Council, having determined doctrine, dispersed; and it declines when, by the death of Mary Stuart and the flight of the Armada, the Protestant succession was secured in England and Scotland, and the churches acquired their present limit."¹ It was a Spanish movement throughout. From Spain emanated both the Jesuits and the Inquisition. The party victorious at Trent, though consisting preponderantly of Italians, owed its impetus to Spaniards. The Popes of the time, though not invariably the friends of Spain, were of necessity its adherents. But about the last decade of the century the Spanish ascendancy began to decline, Philip's three cardinal projects failed: the chastisement of England, with the overthrow of the Armada, 1588; the hope of recovering the Netherlands in their entirety, with the death of Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, †1592; and the prospect of the subjugation of France, upon the conversion of Henry IV to Catholicism, 1593. Then the dominating

¹ Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, 122.

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motive of modern politics in Europe asserted itself, in the effort to maintain the balance of power. But about 1572 Philip was at the height of his authority, and the Catholic reaction went on in full strength.

Four influences contributed to its progress: the changed policy of the Popes; the political attraction of Catholicism for Princes; the divisions of Protestantism; the increasing prestige of the Roman Catholic Church.

§ 2. The change in papal policy is noticeable, first, in the management of the States of the Church—that “civil territory which for over a thousand years, 754–1870, acknowledged the Pope as temporal ruler.”¹ Since the days of Sixtus IV, 1471–†84, who relaid their foundation, and Julius II, 1503–†13, who consolidated them, the Popes possessed a finely-situated, rich and noble territory.² It extended from the mouth of the Po to the southern boundary of Ancona on the Adriatic, and on the western coast from Castro to Terracina. Corn, hemp, flax, wine, oil, wood, manna, horses, salt, alum, marble, as well as excellent hunting and fishing, were to be had within its boundaries. The government was active everywhere; and, although Gregory XIII, 1572–†85, had much trouble with the brigands and was obliged to leave it to Sixtus V, 1585–†90, to put them down, the Popes of the period derived both profit and power from their realm. They took advantage of local feuds to bring every municipality under their own control. They created and sold offices. They imposed subsidies. And thus they acquired a sufficient and even an expanding revenue.

In the second place, equally important changes of principle accompanied these improvements in administration.

Hitherto the Popes had used their territories either to build up the Church as a temporal power or to establish their families. Clement VII used his power for the benefit of the Medici; Paul III for the advancement of the Farnese; and even Paul IV at first devoted himself to the enrichment of his worthless nephews, the Cardinal Carlo Caraffa and the Duke of Palliano. When Paul III invested his son

¹ *Cath. Enc*, xiv 257

² See Map IX H in K. Heussi u. H. Mulert, *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*.

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Pier Luigi Farnese with Parma and Piacenza he found no difficulty: since such alienations were an accepted rule of papal policy. But, at last, all such alienations vanished. By the bull *Admonet nos*,¹ 29 March 1567, Pius V forbade them once and for all. Nepotism, in the older form of creating principalities and advancing nephews to them, disappeared. Henceforward there were no principalities to be had for the building-up of a powerful house. It is true that Pius IV made his nephew a Cardinal: but he was St Charles Borromeo, and simply Secretary of State. This broke the spell. Pius V advanced his great-nephew, Antonio, to be Cardinal Bonelli: but only with a moderate endowment and because he was told that it was the best way to conduct confidential business with temporal princes. Gregory XIII had a son Giacomo; but he was no more than "Signor," and was not allowed to meddle in affairs of State. It was Sixtus V who re-established nepotism; but in a new form. Henceforward, there were, as a rule, two kinsmen who rose to high place. The one became a Cardinal, and acquired the supreme administration of affairs, ecclesiastical and political. He also exerted an influence in the Curia, not sufficient to procure his own succession and so to make the papacy a dynastic office; but strong enough to force the election either of the least objectionable of his uncle's opponents or of an entire outsider. The other remained in a secular estate and married into a wealthy family. Such were the nephews of Sixtus V, the Cardinal Montalto² and the Marquis Michele.³

Hence, concerned neither with secular aims nor with self-interest, the Popes devoted themselves and their resources to the welfare of the Church. Their financial operations were undertaken in their desire to come to the aid of the Catholic Sovereigns for the overthrow of the Protestants or of the Turk. Their political measures could not, of course, do much for their kinsmen so long as Spain was supreme in Italy; but they were now devoted to schemes which should benefit the whole of Christendom. Pius V united Venice and Spain in resistance to the Turk, and so won the naval victory of Lepanto, 8 October 1571; which

¹ *Magnum Bullarium Romanum* (Luxemburgi, 1727), ii. 236 sq.

² Pastor, xxi. 62 sqq.

³ *Ib.*, 69

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was the turning-point in the military glory and the moral prestige of the Ottoman power. Gregory XIII gave proof of his solicitude for the Catholic world by his reform of the calendar,¹ 24 February 1582. He supported the insurrection with which Elizabeth had to contend in Ireland,² 1579; assisted the Jesuit missions to England,³ 1580; and helped to make the League in France dangerous alike to the last of the Valois and the first of the Bourbon kings. He aided, with money from his revenues, Charles IX, the Emperor, and the Knights of Malta. Sixtus V raised a considerable revenue from a country burdened by taxes and a crowd of officials, locked it up in the Castle of St Angelo, and divided it between enterprises against the Turk, projects against the Protestants, and his public works in Rome.⁴

All these measures were the outcome of a deliberate policy, first adopted by Pius IV. He exchanged a hostile for a conciliatory attitude towards secular princes. The traditional claims to a universal authority, in things temporal as well as spiritual, had long been maintained by the Popes. Paul IV was the last to act upon them; and this lost him wide territories, and plunged him into wars and enmities. His successor saw this; and abandoned this policy for one which used the temporal Sovereigns by co-operating with them. Without the princes and, especially, as his successors discovered, without Spain, it would have been difficult for the papacy to carry on. It is true that, as if in imitation of the bull of Paul IV, *Cum ex apostolatus officio*,⁵ 15 February 1559, deposing princes who were either heretics themselves or fautors of heretics, his successors re-issued the famous bull *In coena Domini*,⁶ as did Pius V in 1568 and Urban VIII⁷ in 1627, and published it *urbi et orbi* every Maundy Thursday until the custom was dropped by Clement XIV, 1769-1775. This led to minor quarrels with Philip II, as they also quarrelled about the reception of the decrees of Trent within the Spanish dominions. But, as with Pius V, so with Gregory XIII and Sixtus V, their foes were the foes of the Church; and Spain as her best friend was their best

¹ Mirbt⁴, No. 495; Ranke, i. 319 sqq.

² A. F. Pollard in *Political History of England*, vi. 430

³ *Ib.*, 376.

⁴ Ranke, i. 333 spp.; ii. 17 sqq.

⁵ Mirbt⁴, No. 441.

⁶ *Cath. Enc.*, vii 717.

⁷ Mirbt⁴, No. 513.

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friend as well. Not until the power of Spain began to decline and Clement VIII, 1592-†1605, saw that he could free the Holy See from dependence upon Spain and do as good service for the Church by granting absolution to Henry IV, was there any danger of the alliance being broken. Philip II, on his part, though he would gladly have set limits to the papal power, perceived that, with the religious character of his monarchy, his control over Spain and its empire was bound up. He could not admit the semblance of any serious difference with the Holy See.

Thus by both principle and policy the Pope and the Catholic Sovereigns were knit together.

§ 3. Catholicism also had strong attraction for princes. It reduced the power of the nobles, and united the ruler with his people.

From the time that Luther defended himself by his *Address to the Nobility of the German Nation*,¹ 1520, Lutheranism became associated with the Courts of Germany. If the princes were Protestant, they found the rights of conscience a good plea to use against the Imperial authority and in favour of local independence. In Franconia, a Protestant nobility opposed the bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg. The Rhenish nobles resisted the Archbishop-Electors of Köln. Duke Albert V of Bavaria informed Pius V in 1570 that a great part of his nobility would rather forgo religious worship altogether than return to the Roman rites. The Archbishop of Salzburg told the Council of Trent that no power on earth would force his subjects to give up Communion in both kinds. In Austria, Ferdinand had to be consistently tolerant; and in 1555 the Estates of Lower Austria, and in 1556 those of Upper Austria, won the concession of the Chalice. In Styria, Carinthia and Carniola, the great majority of the nobility, with all the burghers of the towns, were Protestants. We even hear of married prelates professing Protestant opinions, sitting and voting, by Imperial indulgence, as Spiritual Estates at the diets. Outside the Empire, we have already seen how Polish and Hungarian nobles sided with Protestantism because of its affinity with political independence. In Sweden, the Counter-Reformation set on foot by John III, 1569-†92,

¹ H. Wace and C. H. Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, 159 sqq.

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broke down finally before the combined opposition of the Protestant nobles, the king's younger brother Charles, Duke of Södermanland and the ambassadors of Lubeck. Scotland and the Netherlands well illustrate the attractions of Protestantism for the nobles. "If in the Netherlands the attempts of the nobles and the Protestant tendencies had been alike defeated, they had, on the other hand, by a similar union, achieved a decisive victory in Scotland."¹ But France is the best example of this union. The last three kings of the House of Valois were more or less dependent on the Guises, with whom the family of Montmorency had an ancient feud. The Valois also were at variance with the Bourbons. These party lines appeared in the Wars of Religion. Montmorency, who from political motives at first cast in his lot with the Huguenots, rejoined the Catholics. Antony Bourbon, King of Navarre, the first prince of the blood after the royal family, was induced by his high prospects to desert them also, 1561. But his brother Louis, Prince of Condé, stood firm: and became the ideal chief of a discontented nobility and the favourite of the distinctly religious section. Among the non-royal nobility, Admiral Coligny, nephew of the Constable Montmorency, gave the Huguenots a leader of high birth and official rank. The Turennes, the Rohans, and the Soubises—who addressed the King as "Mon cousin"—with others, embraced the new religion, whether from policy or conviction. They were great nobles. The lesser nobles flocked in large numbers, from south and west, to support the same cause. A third section of the party is found among the upper bourgeoisie. At Toulouse, for example, the magistrates were Calvinists to a man. But the peasantry (except in the Pyrenees, the little kingdom of Béarn, the mountainous districts of the Vosges and the Cevennes, Dauphiné and the north of Provence) and the ordinary townsfolk (except in Troyes, Châlons and Mâcon, though even here two-thirds were Catholic) remained almost entirely true to the Catholic religion.

The result of all this was that the princes threw themselves into alliance with the Church² and the people, against the foes of both. "They believed themselves assured that any

¹ Ranke, *Hist England*, i 280

² *Ib*, 238

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change in the religion of a country involved the danger of destruction to the State.”¹ Philip II's inclinations and interests were identical with those of the Catholic Church. The Catholic Faith was “the bond by which all his territories were united in obedience to his rule.”² He could not have abandoned it, without incurring real danger. He allied with the Guises, because he could not suffer the spread of Huguenotism in France without danger to himself. The Emperor Ferdinand, though he advocated a liberal policy in regard to religion at Trent and had to wink at the growth of Protestantism in his dominions, remained at heart a Catholic: and fell in with the Catholic Revival by lending his patronage to the Jesuits. Even his son, Maximilian II, 1564-†76, with all his leanings towards Protestantism, pursued no more than a strict tolerance, outwardly professed the Catholic religion, and renewed the co-operation between the Austrian and the Spanish Hapsburgs. His motive was dynastic ambition; and that was best promoted by adherence to the traditional faith. In Poland, Stephen Batory, 1576-†86, and Sigismund III, 1587-†1632, were Catholic. In France, Henry IV, in order to secure his throne, was obliged to turn Catholic. Under the Catholic rule of Albert V, 1550-†79, and his son William V, 1579-97, Bavaria became the leading state of Germany. The Spiritual Princes only needed their zeal renewed to become effective Catholics. As for the populace, “the majority of the peasantry throughout France, Poland and even Hungary, still remained Catholic.” Protestantism gained no hold in Ireland; no admission into the Tyrolese or Swiss Alps; no “great progress among the peasantry of Bavaria; no influence in the Walloon provinces of the Netherlands.”³

The doctrines of the Peace of Augsburg favoured this union of the Catholic Sovereigns with the Catholic populace. The result of the application of the principle *Cuius regio, eius religio* was an immediate extension of the temporal sovereignty, both in external independence and internal preponderance. In the places where Protestantism was finally established by the Peace, as in Saxony, it had acquired this security long before. But in other places, where the nobles were Protestant but the prince a Catholic, the prince

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, i. 284.

² *Ib.*, 407.

³ *Ib.*, 408.

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derived an immediate accession of power from the new principle. Thus, in Bavaria, the Duke had hitherto to face a legitimate opposition in the Estates, based at once on religion and privilege. Albert V, by means of the Peace which made religion his affair, broke it down. The Pope, the Jesuits, the clergy and the people all gave him their support. Pius IV handed over to him a tenth of Church property. Gregory XIII entrusted him with a spiritual supervision over bishops. The principle therefore that was conceived in the interest of Protestantism proved equally, if not more advantageous, to Catholicism. This was especially so in the Ecclesiastical States. It was to the interest of the Spiritual Sovereigns to be earnest Catholics and to promote the Revival; partly because of their recent subjection to the decrees of Trent, and partly because they would have more to fear from the success of the Protestant party than would the secular princes.

It is interesting also to note how the Peace of Augsburg put weapons into the hands of the Catholic princes which completely turned back the Protestant attack. "The scene of the authentic Counter-Reformation," writes Lord Acton, "was Central Europe, and especially those countries which were the scene of the Reformation itself, Germany and Austria. There the tide, which with little interruption had flowed for fifty years, was effectually turned back, and regions which were Protestant became Catholic again. There too the means employed were not those prevailing under the Crown of Spain. They were weapons supplied and suggested by the Peace of Religion, harmoniously forged by the Lutherans themselves at the Diet of 1555. There was to be no mutual persecution, taking persecution to imply the penalty of death, and a persecutor to mean homicide, in the sense to which Europe was accustomed. No subject, on either side, could be deprived of life or property, could be tortured, or imprisoned, or even banished, if there were numbers, for that would be ruinous to the State. Governments were forced to oppress him wisely, depriving him of Church and School, of preacher and schoolmaster; and by those nameless arts with which the rich used to coerce the poor in the good old days. . . . When the people had been deprived of their pastors, the children were sent to Catholic

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schools. Fervent preachers came among them, Jesuits, or it might be Capuchins, widely different in morality, earnestness, education and eloquence from the parish clergy, whose deficiencies gave such succour to Luther. Most of those who, having no turn for controversy, had been repelled by scandals, were easily reconciled. Others, who were conscious of disagreement with the theology of the last thousand years, had now to face disputants of a more serious type than the adversaries of Luther, and to face them unsupported by experts of their own. Where there had been indifference, ignorance, disorder, in the easy-going days of the Renaissance, there was now the closest concentration of efforts, strict discipline, and regularity of life, a better though narrower education, and the most strenuous and effective oratory. Therefore it was by honest conviction as well as by calculated but not illegal coercion that the Reformation was driven back, and Protestants who had been almost the nation became no more than a bare majority."¹

It was also driven back by the might of Philip II, King of Spain, whose position threw him necessarily on to the side of the Counter-Reformation. Philip was the son of Charles V and Isabella of Portugal. Born 21 May 1527, he was educated in Spain, and was beloved of his Spanish subjects, though unattractive elsewhere. He grew up grave, self-possessed and distrustful: perhaps because, unlike his father, he was untravelled and had no knowledge of men. Like Justinian, he governed his Empire from his desk; possessed an unbounded power of work; and had an absolute love of reading, annotating and drafting dispatches. In 1548 he was summoned by his father to Flanders: because Charles had now resolved that the Netherlands were to go to his son, and not with the Empire. In 1551 he was back in Spain, and entrusted with its government. Before long, he was in Flanders again, 1554, for Charles was meditating abdication. At the same time, he arranged for his son the marriage with Mary Queen of England. By this alliance, he hoped to secure that union of Spain, the Netherlands and England before which France would be powerless. The marriage proved barren: and war between France and

¹ Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, 123 sq.

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Spain became almost inevitable. By the abdication of his father, 16 January 1556, Philip II became King of Spain, with its American possessions; of the Aragonese inheritance, in North Italy, Naples and Sicily; of the Burgundian inheritance in the Netherlands and Franche-Comté; and of the duchy of Milan which Charles separated from the Empire for the benefit of his son. Philip's dominions encircled France; and this meant war. In 1557 at the battle of St Quentin, the Spaniards defeated the French; and by the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, April 1559, the ascendancy of Spain was for the time attained. The difficulties which confronted Elizabeth of England and Philip's marriage with Elizabeth of Valois gave him an insecure advantage; but, on his return to Spain, 1559, he found himself committed to a lifelong struggle in the Netherlands, in which he could not hope for victory except by the conquest of France and England. The conflict soon assumed the character of a life-and-death struggle between Protestantism and Roman Catholicism; and Philip appeared as the champion of the Church. It was a part he rejoiced to play. By his absolutism, by his religious sympathies, by the geographical position of his Empire, and by the commercial rivalry between Spain and England, Philip would have been driven to the side of the Counter-Reformation in any case.

§ 4. It is only necessary, at this stage, to mark the divisions of Protestantism in outline; leaving details to a later chapter. They were, first, confessional. Two main types of formularies developed from 1530 onwards: Lutheran and Swiss. These were represented at the Diet of Augsburg by the Lutheran *Confession of Augsburg*¹ and the Zwinglian *Fidei Ratio*.² Zwinglianism and Calvinism joined forces in the *Consensus Tigurinus*³ of 1549; but the division between Saxon and Swiss Schools remained, and were accentuated in the final formularies of either side—the *Formula of Concord*,⁴ 1577, representing the standard tenets of Lutheran orthodoxy and the *Second Helvetic Confession*,⁵ 1566, the Calvinism of the Swiss. Secondly, and as a consequence

¹ *D.C.R.*, No. 116; Schaff, *Creeds*, iii. 3-73 (Latin and English).

² *D.C.R.*, No. 225.

³ *Ib.*, No. 319

⁴ Francke, *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiae Lutheranae*, iii 1-246; Schaff, iii 93-180.

⁵ Niemeyer, 462-536; Schaff, iii 233-306

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of theological differences passing into politics, there were civil dissensions. Thus the Calvinists had a standing grievance at being left out of consideration by the Peace of Augsburg and bore no love to the Lutherans who had ignored their claim. Actual persecution of one sect by another became common. Thus the Electors-Palatine, who were Reformed, persecuted their Lutheran subjects;¹ while the Elector Augustus of Saxony, 1553-†86, let his hand fall as readily on Flacius Illyricus,² 1520-†75, Professor of Hebrew at Wittenberg, 1544, and the rigid Lutherans of Jena as upon the Crypto-Calvinists of Wittenberg.³ In Poland, as we have seen, Saxon and Swiss theology separated the Reformers into two camps; who with difficulty held their own against a third, the anti-Trinitarians, represented there by Faustus Socinus, 1539-†1604, who settled in Cracow, 1579.

§ 5. But, after all, the greatest asset to the Catholic Revival was the Roman Church herself; for Rome at this epoch was the home of great Saints. "Three modern saints," writes Lord Acton, "dominated the time of Pius IV; and effected a conspicuous change in the aspect of Rome. His nephew was Charles Borromeo ¹ [1538-†84]; St Philip Neri ⁵ [1515-†95] was the best known and best beloved figure in the streets of the city; and Alexandrino, afterwards Pius V ⁶ [1566-†72], governed the Inquisition as an almost independent power."⁷

¹ Hardwick, *Ref*, 158 *sqq*

² Matthias Vlacich (Flacius), b. at Albona on the S E coast of Istria (Illyricus).

³ Hardwick, 64, n. 1; 162, n. 2.

⁴ *Cath Enc*, iii. 619 *sqq*.

⁵ *Ib.*, xii. 18 *sqq*.

⁶ *Cath Enc*, xii. 130.

⁷ *Lect. Mod. Hist.*, 122.

CHAPTER VII

THE NETHERLANDS AND FRANCE, 1563-72

THE ten years between the close of the Council of Trent and the Massacre of St Bartholomew are chiefly taken up with the Netherlands and France. Social discontent, aggravated by growing dissension in matters of religion, became serious at the beginning of the decade in each country. In each there existed a Calvinistic body, with a settled organisation and confession. The Huguenots had their *Confessio Gallicana*,¹ 1559, prepared by Calvin and his pupil de Chandieu. It was the basis of the *Confessio Belgica*,² projected in the same year by Guy de Brès, †1567, and accepted, after revision by Adrian Saravia, 1513-†1613, in 1562. But in both countries Calvinism was associated with tumult. The governments set about its repression on both religious and political grounds. In the Netherlands, Philip carried out his policy of religious uniformity with inflexible determination. When Alba retired, the country was at his feet. In France, after some hesitation, Catherine de Medici declared herself definitely for the Catholics, September 1568, and tried to establish their preponderance by the Massacre of St Bartholomew, 24 August 1572. The decade ends with the apparent triumph of Catholicism effected by these measures. But, within a generation, things took another turn: a compromise in France, and an enduring schism in the Netherlands.

I. THE NETHERLANDS ³

§ 1. Under Charles V the Netherlands consisted of seventeen provinces, which had come to him as part of his Burgundian inheritance. They were made up of four

¹ Niemeyer, 313-26; Schaff, iii. 356-82.

² Niemeyer, 360-89; Schaff, iii. 383-436

³ Ranke, i. 432 sqq.; C.M.H., iii. 182 sqq.

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duchies (Brabant, Limburg, Luxemburg and Gelderland), seven counties (Flanders, Artois, Hainault, Namur, Zeeland, Holland and Zutphen), five lordships (Friesland, Groningen, Overijssel, Utrecht and Mechlin) and one marquisate (Antwerp).¹ It was a rich and remarkable heritage, highly prized by Charles above all his other dominions. But these provinces had been thrown together almost as if by chance. They were a bundle of States, without political or ecclesiastical unity. Divisions abounded. Racially, the Walloons, who are Celts and Catholics, enterprising and excitable, occupied, as they still occupy, the south and the highlands drained by the Meuse. Elsewhere, to the north and north-east, on the rich lowlands and in the thriving seaports, Flemings and Dutch, both of Teutonic stock, covered the country. Some were industrious farmers; others bold seafaring people: some Catholic, and some Protestant, like their kinsfolk in Germany. In the south-west, Flanders, Brabant and Hainault, there was a landed nobility in the country, and a rich bourgeoisie in the towns, such as Ghent. Institutions were aristocratic or oligarchical. The Frisians, in the north, developed a democracy, where no prince or noble found place: a development remarkable among Teutons, but traceable to the hard seafaring life of this particular offshoot. Political life assumed as many forms. The States were a motley collection of governments: each with its peculiar privileges—provincial, civic, or local—but all loosely bound together under the Crown. They were easily dealt with, one by one, if the ruler, like Charles V, who was born at Ghent, were one of themselves, spoke their language, and understood them. But they were all united against a foreigner, such as was Philip II (for he was born and brought up in Spain and spoke only Spanish): especially in defence of their common liberties. The country was rich and resourceful, both in produce and industry. It was distinguished for its mental as for its material wealth. Thus Thomas à Kempis, 1380–†1471, and John Wessel, †1489, witness to its piety: Erasmus, a native of Rotterdam, 1466–†1536, and Adrian VI, 1522–†3, a native of Utrecht, to its learning. William Tyndale, 1477–†1536, and the Anabaptists, who flourished at first in

¹ R. L. Poole, *Hist. Atlas*, Map lii.

Holland, Friesland and Brabant, represent its interest in social and religious questions. Lutheranism attracted attention for a time. Then Calvinism "omnium paene corda occupavit."¹ It was a fair field for innovators: German or French, orthodox Protestant or Anabaptists: with its endless divisions and easy access from both these countries. Moreover, nothing aided the innovations so much as the scarcity of bishoprics, and their want of organisation under a national superior. There were but three within the actual limits of the seventeen provinces—Utrecht, Arras and Tournai; with Cambrai, just on the border, for a fourth. All of them were of unwieldy size. Utrecht, for instance, comprised the whole of Holland, Zeeland and Utrecht, besides the greater part of the provinces of Friesland, Overijssel, Drenthe and Groningen. Utrecht also was subject to the Archbishop of Köln: and the other three to the Archbishop of Rheims; while some districts of Luxemburg fell within the province of Trier. All four sees therefore owed allegiance to foreign powers. These anomalies contributed as much as anything to the rapid growth of reforming opinions. Charles V, however, succeeded in maintaining the old religion. He issued nine edicts in all, 1520-50, for their repression; and set up an Inquisition. But the edicts were not steadily enforced; and the Inquisition was different from the Spanish Inquisition. Perhaps his success was due to his willingness to forgo administrative unity, and to be content if he could secure practical conformity.

§ 2. On 25 October 1555 Philip II succeeded his father. As he was returning to Spain, his first step was to appoint a Regent. He offended the aristocracy by passing over two of the Emperor's most loyal officers—Lamoral, Count of Egmont, 1522-†68, and William, Prince of Orange, 1533-†84—both Catholics, in favour of his half-sister, Margaret, Duchess of Parma, 1522-†86. But there was good reason for the appointment. She was a native of the country. Owing to her long residence in Italy, she was unconnected with any party in the Netherlands. And, as she was a natural daughter of Charles V, she was wholly dependent

¹ Viglius, president of the supreme court at Brussels, in a letter of 23 May 1567, quoted in Gieseler, *Kirchengeschichte*, III, 1 559, n. 14b

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on the King. These reasons, however, hardly appealed to the local magnates. As if to alienate them further, the King appointed as minister to the Regent not one of themselves but the son of his father's lifelong counsellor. This was the able and masterful ecclesiastic, Antoine Perrenot de Granvelle, 1517-1586. He sprang from a middle-class family in Franche-Comté; became Bishop of Arras 1540; Cardinal and Archbishop of Malines 1561. The people came to look upon him, though not quite fairly, as the enemy of their liberties; he was, at any rate, a foreigner; while the nobles regarded him with jealousy as a rival and an upstart. Such was the government that Philip left behind him when, 26 August 1559, he sailed away from Flushing on his return to Spain.

§ 3. Dissatisfaction soon began to make itself felt: and the revolt of the Netherlands is commonly set down "to a series of well-defined causes, all of which are to be traced to the course of internal policy pursued by Philip during the opening years of his rule." They are "financial embarrassments; the placards against heresy; the Inquisition; the new bishoprics; and hatred of foreign domination."¹

The financial embarrassments were due to Charles's wars: for he left the country burdened with debt. Philip, therefore, on his accession, had to meet a situation rendered difficult through no fault of his own. He summoned the Estates-General to vote supplies. They met at Brussels, 12 March 1556; but their proposals of a land tax of 1 per cent ("the hundredth penny") upon real estate and 2 per cent on movable property aroused strong opposition. Charles V would have met it by personal dealing with influential people. But Philip's reserve and his ignorance of the language prevented this. He had to accept less, and a rebuff into the bargain: which augured ill for future relations between himself and his suspicious subjects.

As to the placards, or edicts against heresy, these again were no invention of Philip's; he was merely following up the policy of his father. Between March 1520 and September 1550, Charles had issued nine edicts in all for the suppression of reforming opinions. The last abolished all its

¹ *C.M.H.*, iii 184.

predecessors as not sufficiently thorough; its object, as stated in the preamble, being "to exterminate the root and ground of this pest." Charles's motive had been political expediency, and the edicts, therefore, were not steadily enforced. Philip's motive was religious zeal; and, though he did no more than republish the last edict, of 25 September 1550,¹ it was enough that he directed that it should be enforced.

In a similar way the papal Inquisition had been introduced into the greater part of the Netherlands by Charles, and "was handed on as a legacy to his successor. The first Inquisitor-General was commissioned at the request of the Emperor by Pope Adrian VI; and the system thus begun continued with gradually extending powers until, by the instructions issued in 1550, all judicial officers were made subject to the Inquisition, and they were ordered to carry out its sentences, notwithstanding any privileges or charters to the contrary."²

In the matter of the increase of the episcopate, Philip was again simply trying to remedy an admitted evil, on lines attempted by his father. In 1555 there were, as we have seen, but three dioceses in the Netherlands. Some of them were of considerable size: and they were subject to the jurisdiction of foreigners as metropolitans. Charles V had repeatedly tried to remedy this anomalous state of things, but his efforts were delayed by the pressure of other interests. Thus Philip, when he obtained from Paul IV a bull of 12 May 1559,³ for the erection of a number of new bishoprics, was merely carrying out the plans of his father. His scheme differed from his father's only in proposing that the number of new sees should be fourteen⁴ instead of six, thus making seventeen in all. But it was viewed with mistrust; by the nobles as adding to the importance of the clergy, and by the people as increasing the number of episcopal inquisitors.

The hatred of foreign and, in particular, of Spanish domination had, in fact, become a passion with the Nether-

¹ Gieseler, III, i. 560, n. 13.

² *C.M.H.*, iii 186.

³ Pastor, xiv. 323.

⁴ *Ib.*, 321 sq.; text in Raynaldus, *ad ann.* 1559, No. 33: *Annales*, xv. 40 sqq

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landers; and Philip and his government were the symbols of it. The Spanish soldiery were the instruments of a foreign tyranny. Instead of being disbanded after the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, April 1559, they were not sent off till January 1561. The authority of Cardinal Granvelle, supreme in both Church and State, was a permanent reminder of the grievance; the more so that his rule was as capable as it was firm. He carried out the edicts, as well as the instructions received from Philip, 6 August 1564, for the enforcement of the Tridentine decrees.

§ 4. On the departure of the King, the Regent with her *Consulta* of three advisers—Granvelle, Viglius, and Barleymont—found themselves face to face with opposition from every side. The Prince of Orange and the Count of Egmont, jealous of Granvelle, in a letter of 23 July 1561, complained to Philip of their exclusion from important business; and, 11 March 1563, together with Philip de Montmorency, Count van Hoorn, they warned the King that trouble might follow if the Cardinal were allowed to continue in office. He was temporarily removed, 19 February 1564; and, 18 January 1565, the Count of Egmont was sent on a mission to Spain in order to inform the King of the embittered condition of the country. Philip overwhelmed him with honour; and Egmont, on his return, assured the Council, 5 May, of their Sovereign's goodwill. He had been completely deceived; and it was greatly to their surprise that he and his friends learned, 14 November, from a communication of the Regent to her Council, that Philip required the strict execution of the placards by all governors and magistrates, and ordered that the proclamation of the Inquisition and of the decrees of Trent should be made in every town and village of the provinces.

The trade and life of the country were paralysed at this prospect; and thirty thousand emigrants left for England. But resistance took shape. It was led by a new class of men who now came forward. They were of the lesser nobility; men of honourable descent, but dilapidated fortunes; some of them Calvinists, and most of them bred to arms; men who would prefer any change to the existing state of things. Among them, were Louis of Nassau, †1574, a younger brother of the Prince of Orange; Philip

van Marnix, Lord of Mont St Aldegonde,¹ 1548-†98 and Henry, Viscount Brederode, †1568. They formed a confederacy; and early in 1566 put out a document known as the *Compromise of Breda*, 26 February, in which, while professing themselves loyal subjects to the King, they bound themselves by oath to resist the Inquisition and to extirpate it from the land. William of Orange and the greater nobles stood aloof. But this did not prevent the *Gueux*, or Beggars, as they now called themselves, from going further. On 5 April they presented a *Request* to the Regent to send an envoy to the King, asking him to abolish the placards and the Inquisition and meanwhile herself to suspend their operation until Philip's pleasure should be known.

Envoys were accordingly sent with letters to the King, embodying the *Request*. They reached Madrid, 17 June. But, during their absence, opposition passed out of the control of the lesser nobles and was taken up by the populace. Sectaries and refugees, taking advantage of the lull to return, began to inflame them with preaching, May 1566; and the disorder increased until the Regent and her advisers felt themselves completely baffled. The climax was reached, 15 August, at the Feast of the Assumption. Provoked by the procession of our Lady through the streets of Antwerp, the crowd plundered the Cathedral: and an orgy of image-breaking set in throughout the country. There was a momentary truce, 25 August, when the Regent, at the advice of Orange and Egmont, agreed to recognise the *status quo*, while Louis of Nassau and his friends undertook to quell the disturbances until the King and the States-General should determine the matter. But first the opposition and then the government fell to pieces. For, while resistance was broken down by defeat of the rebels at Austruweel, now Oosterweel, near Antwerp, 13 March 1567, and Valenciennes, 2 April, and William of Orange made his escape, 22 April, to his ancestral home at Dillenburg in Hesse-Nassau, the Regent herself resigned and left the country in the autumn.

¹ So called after Adelgundis (Aldegundis) V, foundress and first Abbess of Maubeuge, 630-†85: died of cancer, 30 January; patroness against it.

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§ 5. The reason for all this was that Philip's plans for dealing with his rebellious subjects were now matured. They were not unknown to William of Orange, who retired in order to meet them; and they were unwelcome to the Regent. For her authority remained only in name, when the Duke of Alba,¹ 1508-†82, arrived, August 1567, with well-equipped Spanish forces, and took over all authority as Captain-General of the Netherlands. It was the impolicy of sending such a man as Alba, at the head of a Spanish army, that caused the Duchess of Parma to resign. The King's enemies, by their errors and excesses, had been his best friends. The Netherlands were quiet. The Protestants had emigrated. All officials had sworn to maintain the Catholic religion by armed resistance against heresy. But Alba's violent measures roused rebellion again. Convinced that the best way to put down opposition was to get rid of its leaders, he seized the guileless Egmont and Hoorn, 9 September 1567. On 20 September, he set up a tribunal, officially called the *Council of Troubles*, but better known, for its cruelties, as the *Council of Blood*. The Duke was president, with Juan de Vargas, an upstart lawyer from Spain, as his right-hand man. With "Non curamus vestros privilegios" for its maxim, the Council suspended all ordinary procedure: and, in six years, put eighteen thousand people to death.

Violence and brutality such as this could not but lead to revolt. In April 1568, Louis of Nassau took up arms. He defeated a Spanish force, 23 May, at Heiligerlee, near Groningen; but Alba, after causing Egmont and Hoorn to be beheaded at Brussels, 5 June, took the field against him. He annihilated his forces, 21 July, at Jemmingen in Friesland. Then William of Orange began a campaign on the Meuse. He was not actuated by strong religious conviction. His purpose was "to defend the rights of the Protestants, and not their opinions." He was, in fact, the champion of civil liberty. But he had to retire before Alba in the autumn. At the end of this first campaign, the power of Alba stood at its height. The country was ruined, but obedient. Alba, however, wanted money; particularly as Queen Elizabeth had just seized five ships which had taken

¹ *Cath. Enc.*, i. 371 sq.

refuge in Plymouth Sound, and relieved them of 450,000 ducats which they were bringing to the Duke. He therefore summoned the States-General to Brussels, 20 March 1569; and boldly proposed that they try (1) a tax of one per cent—"the hundredth penny"—to be levied immediately, but once only, on all property; (2) a tax of five per cent—"the twentieth penny"—on all transfers of real estate; and (3) a tax of ten per cent—"the tenth penny"—on all articles of commerce to be paid each time they were sold. The twentieth and the tenth penny were to be granted in perpetuity. The Duke naively explained that this was a system which worked quite well in his own town of Alba. "But he forgot that what a despotic government might exact in a poor, thinly populated agricultural country like Spain, not even armed tyranny could compel in a thriving, mercantile and manufacturing community like the Netherlands."¹ All that the States would grant him was the hundredth penny, once only: and even this he could not collect. His finance and his cruelties turned everybody against him; and the King, at last aware of the rising tide of hatred which he had provoked, required him to put forth an amnesty, 16 July 1570. But it had no effect: and the revolt became general when the Duke issued an edict, 31 July 1571, "by which the summary collection of the tenth and twentieth pence was ordered." On 1 April 1572, the Sea-Beggars took Brill; and, continuing to hold the town as a place of refuge, they took the oath to the Prince of Orange as Stadtholder, in the name of the King. From that day forward the north declared for William, and was lost to Spain. He advanced towards Brussels; while his brother Louis held Mons. But, before he could effect a junction with Louis and obtain the assistance which they expected from France, their natural ally against Spain, there burst upon them, "like a sledge-hammer," as William of Orange said, the news of the Massacre of St Bartholomew. It converted Charles IX, the main hope of the Netherland Protestants, into Philip's most powerful ally; and thus, though Alba sought his recall in despair, yet, when he left the country, 18 December 1573, he left its liberties, civil and religious alike, to all appearance at Philip's mercy.

¹ *C.M.H.*, iii 226.

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II. FRANCE¹

§ 6. We have already observed the situation in France, upon the death of Henry II, 1547-†59. By the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, April 1559, he brought the wars with Spain to an honourable issue. He had, indeed, lost the battles of St Quentin, 1557, and Gravelines, 1558. But he had won the three bishoprics—Metz, Toul and Verdun—1552: and also secured Calais, 1558. At home, the monarchy remained supreme over all other institutions, as under Francis I. But the Huguenots, in spite of the severity of Henry's edicts and of the Inquisition which he had allowed to be introduced in 1557, threatened its authority. "We run the risk," said the King, "of falling into a kind of republic like the Swiss." Between 1555 and 1559 they acquired two thousand churches, each with its council; the whole with provincial and national synods, a confession of faith, a common fund, and a regular ministry. Theirs, in fact, was a powerful and aggressive organisation, with a firm hold south of the Loire and able leaders among the nobility; but with little or no basis in popular goodwill.

§ 7. But when Francis II, 1559-†60, succeeded his father, the balance of parties was altered. He was an unhealthy and feeble youth of sixteen, devoted to his young wife Mary Stuart, then seventeen; and so leaned naturally towards her uncles, Francis, Duke of Guise, and his brother Charles, Cardinal of Lorraine. Thus the Catholic party dominated his short-lived reign. They entered into communications with Philip of Spain; but, as he was alarmed by the possible union of England, France and Scotland, under Mary Stuart, he did no more than signify his goodwill towards them until the fear of her accession to such power became illusory. As soon as Elizabeth was firmly seated on her throne, Philip gave the Guises his entire support. So did the papacy. Together these three powers represent the great scheme of repression which was at this moment being tried in Spain, the Netherlands and Italy.

¹ G. W. Kitchin, *Hist. Fr.*, ii 283 sqq.; *C.M.H.*, iii. 1-52; E. Armstrong, *The French Wars of Religion* (1892); W. H. Jervais, *Hist. Ch. Fr.*, i 127 sqq.; Lord Acton, *Lect. Mod. Hist.*, No. viii.

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A fourth power, that of the Jesuits, was borne into France on the rising tide of the reaction in 1562.

The foreign connexions of the Guises, however, proved their weakness as well as their strength. They were disliked as persecutors: as Lorrainers by birth and friends of Spain by policy. They were also obnoxious as upstarts. Their ascendancy, therefore, had two effects. First, it threw their rivals, the nobles whom they excluded from influence, on to the support of the Huguenots: both the Bourbon princes of the blood, and the Constable Montmorency with his friends. Secondly, it secretly stirred the Queen-mother, Catherine de Medici,¹ to adopt a policy of opportunism. It was a policy, as she hoped, which would enable her to retain the authority of the Crown and to save it from being crushed between the upper and nether millstones of Guises and Huguenots. In this, she found support from Michel de l'Hôpital,² 1504-†73, who became Chancellor in 1560. He advocated a judicial and mediatory policy, the Crown to regain its ascendancy by making terms between the two religions and then enforcing them. Catherine tried, but failed. The reason of her failure was that the Crown had no control over the judicature and the executive, both strongly Catholic. So long as Francis II lived, any such policy was out of the question. The Conspiracy of Amboise,³ March 1560, failed to remove the Guises. But at the moment when their schemes for revenge, by the arrest of the Prince of Condé for complicity in the plot, were on the verge of success, the King died, 5 December.

§ 8. He was succeeded by his brother, Charles IX, 1560-†74, then only ten years old. The Queen-mother became Regent, with Anthony, King of Navarre, as Lieutenant-General of the Realm. The tenure of this office detached him from the Huguenots. The Constable Montmorency also deserted them, and returned to Court. Mary Stuart departed for Scotland. The Guises no longer enjoyed a monopoly of power. They were now the discontented party. At Easter 1561, affairs fell into the hands of the Triumvirate: the Duke of Guise, Montmorency, and

¹ C. de M., 1519-†89: niece of Clement VII; m. H. II of France, 1533, *Cath. Enc.*, iii 443.

² *Cath. Enc.*, ix. 209.

³ Kitchin, ii. 300

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the Sieur de St André, 1505-†62, Marshal of France. It was a league of schemers to reinstate themselves. Catherine, under these circumstances, naturally leaned to the Bourbons and the Huguenots. She tried to effect a reconciliation at the Colloquy of Poissy, September 1561, but without success. Then she made a further effort for peace in the Edict of January 1562. It was the first official recognition of the Huguenots, and offered them a measure of toleration. Unfortunately, they misused their liberties. They created disturbances in Paris. The citizens—fiercely Catholic—summoned the Duke of Guise to their aid. On his way, his followers perpetrated the massacre at Vassy, 1 March 1562; and, in spite of all the efforts of Catherine and her Chancellor—who had been her adviser in this policy of conciliation—the Wars of Religion, 1562-98, began.

§ 9. They lasted for a generation: till 1598, when the Edict of Nantes, in April, secured toleration for the Huguenots and the Treaty of Vervins, in May, brought peace with Spain. We do not propose to traverse the record of these dreary years, in detail. Sufficient to note that the Wars of Religion, though commonly reckoned as eight in number, fall roughly into three periods. The first period covers 1562-70· from the massacre of Vassy to the Peace of St Germain, when the Huguenots, in spite of their reverses, got very good terms—religious freedom, the right of public service, and four towns for places of refuge—La Rochelle, Montauban, La Charité, and Cognac. At the same time, the Admiral Coligny gained a strong influence over the King; and, with an eye to supporting his co-religionists in the Netherlands, he advised the resumption of the national policy traditional with France, viz., War with Spain. The advice was taken; and French troops aided Louis of Nassau to seize Valenciennes and Mons in the struggle with Alba. Nothing could better please William of Orange; for, if France could thus be made to break with Spain, the independence of the Netherlands was assured: not, however, by religious but by political alliances. Such schemes, however, if realised, would have left Coligny supreme in his influence over the King and France. To prevent this, there was organised the massacre of the Huguenots on the Feast of St Bartholomew, 24 August 1572: and there were concerned

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in it the Queen-mother, in order to recover her influence over her son; the Guises, in order to secure their return to power; and the mob of Paris, fanatically Catholic. Its result was that Huguenotism, driven south of the Loire at the end of the first war, was now deprived of its leaders and rendered powerless. From this time forward, the Huguenots could never bring an army into the field unaided; and their cause fell into the hands of the local preachers and the bourgeoisie.¹ A third and a fourth war mark the middle, or transitional, period, 1570-3, of the Wars of Religion. The latter centred round La Rochelle; and, so far as the Huguenots are concerned, it was a war for religious existence. That they obtained by the Peace of La Rochelle, June 1573; but chiefly by the aid of a "Tiers Parti," called Les Politiques—to whom, as to a national party, the future belonged. They were French and Catholic; and the wars of the third period, 1574-98, while they left the Huguenots their rights of worship and citizenship, left them an attenuated minority. Thus France once more became a strong and united Catholic country.

¹ Armstrong, 33.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FORCES BEHIND THE REVIVAL, 1572-98

THE tide of reaction, which had been steadily increasing in volume since the close of the Council of Trent, was still rising in the fatal year 1572. Alba left the Netherlands at Philip's feet. The Huguenots lost not only numbers but leaders on the night of St Bartholomew. Not till toward the last decade of the century did it begin to ebb. In fact, the Counter-Reformation maintained itself at its height for about a generation. The interest of the period centres in Philip's great scheme to crush out Protestantism in Europe. His policy gives to these years a historical unity of their own. But, before proceeding in the subsequent chapters to trace the course of the reaction, we must now inquire into the causes which kept the Counter-Reformation at its height, *c.* 1572-98.

§ 1 First, the forces of defence and attack were, by this time, successfully matured by the Roman Catholic Church. The earlier Sessions of the Council¹ under Paul III secured not only unity but definiteness of belief among her children. The doctrinal definitions of the later Sessions followed necessarily from the earlier decision that the sources of doctrine were to be found in Scripture and Tradition as of equal authority:² and all that the strictly orthodox party, under the lead of Lainez, had to do in 1562-3 was to round off the treatment of the seven sacraments, according to the original scheme, in harmony with this standard of reference. "Differences were avoided by dexterous verbal compromises which meant nothing, as the interpretation of the decrees was left to the Pope."³ Not only then did the old doctrines receive systematic expression, so that every Roman Catholic could know precisely what he had to hold and fight for,

¹ Ranke, i. 265 *sqq.*

² Session IV of 8 April 1546; see above, *c.* iv. § 3.

³ R. Lodge, *Modern Europe*, 98

but this unity of belief was carefully supported by unity of organisation. Many reforms, once ardently desired, were left untouched. Some of the worst abuses were concealed rather than removed. But this policy was safe enough. For the Council successfully inaugurated a thorough reform, educational and disciplinary, of the lower clergy; and, although no mention was made of reforming the Cardinals and the Curia, the Pope acquired as of right a supremacy which enabled him to order all things at his will. The Popes succeeding the Council were men of earnest, even of saintly life. They had able servants in the Jesuits; who, from Lainez onwards, acquired control over the policy of the Church, and directed the forward movement in every country. As to the decrees of Trent, most of the important and many of the minor States of Europe which owned the papal obedience had published them by 1565; though France held back for "reasons of state," which was the stereotyped reply given by its government to the clergy whenever they remonstrated upon the matter.¹ Weapons, therefore, of doctrine and discipline had been forged and put into the hands of zealous champions, under the double authority of ecclesiastical and temporal powers. They began the first systematic attempt at a united attack upon Protestantism along the whole line. The Roman Church had, indeed, to content itself with narrower limits; but, within these limits, it acquired new strength and a new coherence for the combat.

§ 2. A second cause which kept the flood-tide of the Counter-Reformation at its height was the continued ascendancy of Philip II of Spain. It was, as yet, unbroken by any of the great disasters which afterwards befell his arms. Austria and the Empire passed to the younger branch of the House of Hapsburg, but Philip was careful to maintain close relations with his cousins in German lands. So too in his attitude to the Popes, Philip—though he fell out with them in domestic affairs whenever they attempted any intrusion upon the royal supremacy—yet appeared consistently before the world as their ally. He did not subordinate religion to politics, like his father; but stood forth as the willing ally of the papacy and the champion

¹ Jervis, *Hist. Ch. Fr.*, i. 166-71.

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of the orthodox reaction. Animated then by one great motive—religious zeal rather than, though not untouched by, dynastic interest—Philip was the mainstay of the Catholic Revival. The vastness of his territories—Spain, the Netherlands, Milan, Naples and the New World, not to mention minor dependencies; the ability of his generals—Lamoral, Count Egmont, †1568; Fernando Alvarez, Duke of Alba, †1582, Don Luis de Requesens, †1576, Don John of Austria, †1578, and, greatest of all, Alexander Farnese, Duke of Parma, †1592; the reputation of his armies; and his own absolute control of the whole of his dominions enabled him to use the resources of one country to suppress opposition in another, and to direct the whole of his power at once wherever it was wanted. It is true that, as early as 1572, these immense reserves were already beginning to feel the strain. The Spanish exchequer was bankrupt at Alba's departure. "The military expenses alone of the Netherlands were more than seven millions of dollars yearly, and the mines of the New World produced an average of only eleven."¹ But they were not broken down till the last decade of his reign. Then all that he had spent in men and money over his three schemes—the chastisement of England, the recovery of the Netherlands and the subjugation of France—was gone for ever. The loss of the Armada, 1588, the independence of the United Provinces, 1590, the conversion of Henry IV, 1593, finally crippled the power of Spain. But, until these events proved his efforts to have been thrown away, the might and the name of Spain under Philip II guaranteed to the Catholic reaction continued success.

§ 3. A third cause which contributed not less to the triumph of the Church was the character and policy of the Popes of the time. From the close of the Council of Trent the new spirit which had been manifesting itself within the Church became more than ever apparent in the altered character of the Popes. The age of the Renaissance Popes was long past, though Paul III and Julius III retained a taint of it. Perhaps, too, Pius IV, 1559-†166; but he was nearly assassinated because he did not come up to the standard of personal austerity which, since the days of his

¹ Motley, 547 (ed. 1891).

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predecessor Paul IV, had become the pride of the see, and even of the city, of Rome. Pius V, 1566-†72, was a great saint; deservedly canonised, 1712. Gregory XIII, 1572-†85, though personally inclined to worldlier ways, is a notable example of the power, as well for good as for evil, of the spirit of the age. Sixtus V, 1585-†90, who ruled in the same spirit, was for the vigour of his administration and his many-sided activity, almost the most remarkable Pope of the sixteenth century. Within the Roman Church these three Popes were active reformers; while outside they appear as the uncompromising opponents of Protestantism. So, in policy, as Philip subordinated politics to religion, they were willing to do the same. They saw in him their champion; and, though for reasons of secular interest they were often inclined to be unfriendly towards such a preponderating power, yet for the sake of the Church, they maintained themselves steadily in alliance with him. Thus the interest and the forces of Spain and the papacy moved together. The reaction swept northwards from its bases beyond the Pyrenees and the Alps; and the two southern peninsulas were solid behind the Revival, both Spanish and both Catholic.

§ 4. A fair start was given to the Revival by Pius IV;¹ for his good genius was St Charles Borromeo,² 1558-†84. St Charles was born at Arona, on the southern shore of Lago Maggiore, 2 October 1538; his mother being Margherita de' Medici, sister of Pius IV. Sent to the University of Pavia, October 1552, he was just twenty-one years of age when his uncle was elected Pope, 26 December 1559. It was the custom in those days for a Pope to appoint his nephew to be chief Secretary of State: a custom open to abuse, but necessary in self-defence. Only so could the pontiff, surrounded as he was by intriguers of all sorts, feel confident that he had support on which to rely. Pius IV therefore lost no time in sending for his nephew. He made him Cardinal, 31 January 1560: and entrusted him with the administration of affairs. Chief among the affairs which demanded his attention was the conduct of the business of the Council of Trent. He kept it in close accord with the

¹ Ranke, i 241 *sqq*; Pastor, xv, xvi.; *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 129.

² L. Celier, *St Charles Borromée* (Paris, 1923); *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 619.

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will of the Pope; and, upon its close, he set himself to carry out the projects which it had referred to the Holy See. At its eighteenth Session, on 26 February 1562, the Council records the appointment of a committee to consider and report upon "censures and books."¹ The committee finished its work and reported. But the Council was hurried at its close; and, taking advantage of "the multitude and variety of books" to affirm that "they cannot be severally and conveniently judged of by the holy synod," referred the matter of the *Index* to the Pope. "At the same time, it commands that the same be done in regard of the Catechism, the Missal and the Breviary."²

(1) The *Index* of Paul IV was much too rigorous in its prohibition of books. Pius IV, in March 1560, soon after his accession, told Lainez that, in his opinion, while heretical books should be forbidden as hitherto, books by heretical writers in general subjects need not be so treated.³ The Council got to work on revision; and, after its close, the Tridentine *Index* was published by a papal brief *Dominici gregis custodire*,⁴ of 24 March 1564. The brief introduced considerable changes. For while the *Index* of Paul IV contained, substantially, only a list of prohibited books and authors, the Tridentine *Index* consists of two divisions—the so-called ten rules, and the list of writings. Leaving the list to be completed from time to time by Bishops and Inquisitors, the rules proceeded considerably to modify previous legislation. "The list of Paul IV, it is stated in the preface by Fureiro [a Portuguese Dominican] had in many places not been accepted, because scholars could not, without difficulty, do without many of the books which it condemned; besides this, many things in that list required explanation. The rules of the Tridentine *Index* provided for both these cases. The books of the actual propagation of heresy, indeed, were condemned now as they had been before; but the writings of other heretics, which did not treat of religion, were under certain conditions permitted.⁵ Bibles and controversial writings in the vernacular were not allowed to all indiscriminately; but only, with episcopal permission, to such as would derive benefit from such books.⁶

¹ *Can et decr.*, 102.

² *Ib.*, 205 sq.

³ *Pastor* xvi. 20.

⁴ *Mirbt*⁴, No. 481

⁵ Rules 2, 3, 5, 8.

⁶ Rules 4, 6.

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As far as books of a lascivious nature were concerned, all actually obscene literature was unconditionally forbidden; certain works of the ancient classics, which were regarded as models of style, could not at any rate be placed in the hands of young people.¹ Finally, books on divination were forbidden.² Only the reading and keeping of heretical books was punished by excommunication, and all books must be submitted to censorship before publication."³

(2) Like the new *Index*, the *Catechismus Romanus*⁴ was also the work of the Council of Trent. In a General Congregation of 15 April 1546 complaint was made that the education of the people in sacred knowledge was not up to the level of their general education. A very modern complaint! In order to lead on to the study of the Scriptures, the Council was urged to prepare a manual of Christian doctrine for the use of the clergy, and a catechism for the use of the unlearned and of children. The proposal hung fire, and it was not proceeded with till the third assembly of the Council, under Pope Pius IV. Meanwhile, the project was taken up by the Emperor Ferdinand I. He entrusted the preparation of a formulary of elementary instruction to Peter Canisius: whose *Catechism*, as we have already seen,⁵ met with widespread success. It was, perhaps, for this reason, and in spite of the excellence and multiplicity of its rivals—the Anglican, Lutheran and Calvinistic Catechisms—that the Roman Church to this day possesses no official catechism for use throughout its extent in the education of the young. Best of all catechisms,⁶ perhaps, is the *Penny Catechism*, published under the authority of the English Roman Catholic Hierarchy: but it is still the case that a Catechism in universal, as distinct from local, use is not to be found in the Roman communion.⁷ This part of the project of the Council of Trent has never, as yet, been realised. But a compendium of Catholic doctrine for pastors was taken in

¹ Rule 7.

² Rule 9.

³ Rule 10 Pastor, xvi. 22.

⁴ *Catechismus ex decreto Conc. Trid. ad Parochos* (Tauchnitz, Berolini, 1884) and Mirbt⁴, No 482; Pastor xvi. 24 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, xiii. 120.

⁵ See above, c ii § 3.

⁶ "A remarkably clear document, with well-constructed questions and answers," E. A. Knox, *Pastors and Teachers*, 81 (ed. 1902) Bp. Knox reprints it in his valuable appendix of *Catechisms*, pp. 246 sqq.

⁷ *The Catholic Catechism, drawn up by Peter Cardinal Gasparri* (Sheed & Ward, 1932) comes nearest to such a formulary.

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hand. The Emperor, in instructions to his envoys, 1561, and again in his *Libellus Reformationis*,¹ 1562, pressed it upon the Council; and it was undertaken, March 1563. But by October it had made little progress; and so came to be one of the measures of reform remitted to the Pope, just before the close of the Council. About Christmas 1564, Pius IV entrusted it to a committee consisting of the Archbishop of Zara and two bishops, with Francisco Fureiro. All but the first were Dominicans: and the Order of St Dominic must thus have the credit for the classic, both of theology and of Latin, which they produced. Latin classic it certainly was; for Cardinal Borromeo put the draft into the hands of his secretary, Giulio Poggiano, the most distinguished humanist of his time, to see to its style. At last, on 13 April 1565, he was able to write to a friend that it was nearly finished. But Pius IV did not live to see it issued; and it was published in September 1566 under the authority of Pius V. Widely adopted by bishops and synods, and quickly translated into other tongues, it received further commendation from Pius V in a bull of 6 October 1571. For the first time, Catholics had access to a clear, concise and authoritative exposition of what they were expected to believe and to do.

On 3 June 1564, the Cardinal Secretary of State wrote to the nuncio in Germany, Zaccaria Delfino, that great pains were being taken to complete the Breviary and Missal;² and, next to the *Index* and the *Catechism*, came the reform of the liturgical books, also desired by the Council of Trent.

(3) The need for a reform of the *Breviary*³ had occupied the attention even of secular princes. Thus Charles V, in a *Formula Reformationis* of 14 July 1548 complained that much which was unsuitable and apocryphal had crept into the Choir Office;⁴ and his brother, Ferdinand, renewed these complaints in his *Libellus Reformationis*, 1562; at the same time drawing attention to another abuse, in the length of the service. The Legates replied that the reform of the service-books would be entrusted to the committee engaged upon the *Index*, but that neither laity nor clergy could make any complaint concerning the length of the Choir Office.

¹ See above, c. iv § 11.

² Pastor, xvi., 35

³ *Cath. Enc.*, II 774.

⁴ Pastor xii. 424 xvi. 31

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The laity were not obliged to be there; while it was simply for Divine Service that the clergy were there at all!¹

The Legates, no doubt, were rather curt. They were annoyed at the intrusion of the laity into a field which did not properly belong to them. But the spiritual authorities had, for some time, been conscious of the need of the reform of the Breviary, and had been at work upon it. "Leo X and several provincial synods had intended to give a new form to the canonical hours; while Clement VII had encouraged attempts at reform of the most various kinds. Zaccaria Ferreri [Bishop of Guardia Alfieri, 1519-†24, in the kingdom of Naples], who had wished to see classical Latin introduced into the Breviary, Gian Pietro Caraffa and the Theatines with their strictly ecclesiastical ideas for a revival, the Cardinal of Santa Croce, Francisco Quiñones, who had greatly curtailed the prayer in choir, and in other respects as well had broken through 'precedent,' all these had met with help and encouragement from the Pope."²

The Breviary of Cardinal Quiñones should detain us for a moment; particularly as it has a special interest for Englishmen because of its influence on the *Book of Common Prayer*.³ Francisco Quiñones,⁴ 1482-†1540, became General of the Franciscans in 1522. He was also confessor to Charles V and his envoy to Clement VII. In 1529 Clement made him Cardinal Presbyter of Santa Croce in Gierusalemme, and gave him the task of revising the canonical hours, not according to the rules of true Latinity, after the manner of the Bishop of Guardia, but in accordance with "the institutions of the ancient Fathers."⁵ Quiñones began the task at once, and in 1535 put forth the *Breviarium Romanum*, a *Fr. Card. Quignonio editum*.⁶ Between February 1535 and July 1536 it ran through eight editions; and was thus well received. Its object was to encourage the private recitation of the Divine Office; and so to revive in the clergy a desire for prayer, and for the reading of the Bible and of ecclesiastical history. Drastic changes in the traditional contents of the Breviary were made by the author with this end in

¹ Pastor, xvi 31.

² *Ib.*, 31 sq.

³ Procter and Frere, *B.C.P.*, 27, 309, 336 sq., 355, 384 sq.

⁴ *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 613.

⁵ P. Batiffol, *History of the Roman Breviary*, 182.

⁶ Edit. J. Wickham Legg (H.B.S., 1888).

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view: "and everything was sacrificed to secure continuity in reciting the Psalter and reading the Bible. Antiphons¹ (reinstated in the second text of 1537), little chapters and many hymns were omitted"; and little was left but psalms and lessons. The psalms were assigned "three to each hour."² The lessons, three also in number each day³ at Matins, were taken from the better parts of the Old Testament, from the New Testament except the Apocalypse, and from the Fathers and writers of ecclesiastical history. The rubrics were reduced in number; and simplification was further secured by the diminished prominence given to the Office of our Lady and the Office of the Departed. All that could offend—whether uncritical or superstitious—was also removed. Thus abridged, amended and simplified,⁴ the Breviary was widely welcomed as "the breviary of busy people." It was recommended in Germany by Canisius, and in the Indies by St Francis Xavier. In Spain it came to be used in Church⁵—a use for which it was neither intended nor fitted. But it was simple and short.

"The criticisms for which Quignonez" thus asked "did not fail to make their appearance. . . . In a memorandum dated 'Trent: August 1st 1551,' a Spanish theologian submitted to the Fathers of this Council certain reasons which should move the Church to repudiate the breviary of Quignonez. . . ." He insisted, among other things, that "the Office was made to be sung, being in its essence addressed to God and no mere matter of study, and that it is mixing two distinct forms of religious exercise . . . to try to transform the recitation of the Office into a Bible-reading."⁶ These and other criticisms found their mark: and on 8 August 1558 the printing of the *Breviarium Quignonianum* was forbidden by Paul IV.⁷ As Cardinal Caraffa, he had entertained plans of his own for the revision of the Breviary. He wished, then, to substitute the Theatine Breviary for that ordinarily in use; and Clement VII, in 1529, allowed its use as an experiment for a year.⁸ His

¹ Omissis antiphonis, capitulis et responsoriis, ac multis hymnis, edit. Legg xxi.

² Terni singulis horis *ib.*

³ Ternis, quae singulis diebus totius anni leguntur, *ib.*

⁴ Simpliciter et breviter, *ib.*, xxii

⁵ Batiffol, 188, ⁶ *Ib.*, 188 *sqq.* ⁷ *Ib.*, 191.

⁸ *Ib.*, 192.

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plan was to return "not to an ideal antiquity such as Quignonez dreamt of, but to the ancient tradition represented by the existing liturgy"; and he held that "there was no need of change in the traditional arrangement of the Divine Office . . . all that was necessary was to purge it from errors of history, from literary defects, and from the wearisome prolixities which discouraged the clergy from using it with devotion."¹

This reaction in favour of tradition the Council of Trent took up. On 7 November 1562 St Charles Borromeo forwarded to Trent a Spanish memorandum urging reform on the lines inaugurated by Paul IV.² It was taken in hand; and, on 24 June 1563, the Legates informed the Pope that the reform of the Breviary had been delegated to the commission of the *Index*; to which was added for this purpose, Thomas Goldwell,³ Bishop of St Asaph 1555-8, the friend of Cardinal Pole and of St Charles Borromeo as well. The committee, however, had not completed its work when the Council came to its hurried end; and its task was then handed over, 4 December 1563, to the care of Pius IV. He added to its members: among them the Latinist, Giulio Poggiano. Writing on 4 September 1566, St Charles records that the revision was finished;⁴ and, 9 July 1568, it was authorised by Pius V in the bull *Quod a nobis*. The Pope, in this bull, abolished the Breviary of Cardinal Quignonez, and all other Breviaries except such as could claim a prescription of two hundred years' use. He restored the ancient order, but rejected the additions of later times. And "all Italy, the whole of Spain, including Portugal, and France . . . received with esteem the new Roman breviary."⁵

(4) In the letter of 3 January 1564, to which allusion has already been made, St Charles Borromeo informed his correspondent that the revision of the *Missal* was already in hand.

There was much need for it. The local uses of the

¹ Batiffol, 194.

² *Ib.*, 196.

³ T. G. was M.A. of All Souls', 1531; chaplain to Card. Pole, Bishop of St Asaph; Superior of the Theatines at Naples, 1561, the only English bishop at Trent, 1562; Vicar-General to Abp. Borromeo at Milan, 1563, last of the Marian bishops: † 1585.

⁴ Batiffol, 203.

⁵ *Ib.*, 206.

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mediæval church "had lasted long enough. They had become very florid and exuberant; and their variety caused confusion. It would be better for all *Roman*¹ Catholics to go back to an older and simpler form of the Roman rite.² In its eighteenth Session (16 February 1562) the Council," of Trent, "appointed a commission to examine the missal, to revise it and to restore its earlier form. At the close of the Council, 4 December 1563, the commission had not yet finished its work; so further proceedings were left to the Pope." He entrusted it to the same revisers as had the Breviary in hand; but they had not accomplished their task when Pius IV died. It was completed under Pius V. On 14 July 1570 he "published the reformed missal by the bull *Quo primum*, still printed at its beginning.

"The bull commands that this missal alone be used, wherever the Roman rite is followed. 'All rites from other missals, however old, hitherto observed, being in future left out and entirely abandoned, Mass shall be sung or said according to the rite manner or standard, which is given in this missal, nor, in celebrating Mass, shall anyone dare to add or recite other ceremonies or prayers than those that are contained therein.' That made an end of the mediæval derived rites. But the Pope made one important exception. The bull allowed any rite to be kept that could shew a prescription of at least two centuries. This rule saved some modified uses. A few dioceses, as Lyons, kept and still keep their local forms; so also some Religious Orders—notably the Dominicans, Carmelites, and Carthusians. What is much more important is that the exception saved what was left of really independent rites at Milan and Toledo."³

"Taking antiquity for its standard, the commission

¹ "Using the name *Roman* for the rite, as we do other place-names (Byzantine, Armenian, Coptic, etc.), we are all Roman Catholics in the West, except the faithful of Milan, Toledo, and the Byzantine parishes of Southern Italy, Corsica, etc. A man of Toledo who uses or frequents the local liturgy is not a Roman but a Mozarabic Catholic. Uniates in the East are Catholic, but not Roman, . . . they are Byzantine and East-Syrian Catholics." A. Fortescue, *The Mass* (1912), 206, n. 1.

² For the simplicity native to the Roman rite, see "The Genius of the Roman rite," in Edmund Bishop, *Liturgica Historica*, 1-19 (Clarendon Press, 1918). edited, and enriched with notes by Dom Wilmart, *Le Génie du rit romain* (Paris, 1920).

³ Fortescue, *The Mass*, 206 sq.

abolished later ornate features and made for simplicity, yet without destroying all those picturesque elements that add poetic beauty to the severe Roman Mass. They expelled the host of long sequences . . . but kept . . . the five best;¹ they reduced processions and elaborate ceremonial, yet kept the really pregnant ceremonies—candles, ashes, palms, and the beautiful Holy-week rites.” And, as to additions, Pius V rendered obligatory the recitation, at the beginning of Mass, of the Antiphon *Introibo*, the Psalm *Judica me*, and the *Confiteor*; and, at the close, of the *Placeat tibi, Sancta Trinitas*. He also inserted the *Suscipe Sancta Trinitas* at the Offertory; regulated the rites of the *Hanc igitur* and the *Per ipsum* in the canon; gave precision to the formula and the ceremonies of the final benediction; and made obligatory the recitation of the Last Gospel at the end.²

Italy and Spain gave a favourable reception to the missal thus reformed. In France, its reception followed that of the breviary. Provincial Synods of Rouen, Rheims, Bordeaux, Bourges, Toulouse, Narbonne and Brittany, were the first to accommodate their local usages to the new standard; and from 1583 onwards the Court of France introduced the Roman Liturgy into the Chapels Royal.

But important as was the reform of service-books thus accomplished, no decree of Trent was as important as those which concerned seminaries and synods; and none so closely associated with the reforming zeal of St Charles Borromeo.

(5) The Tridentine decree as to Seminaries³ runs as follows: “Whereas the age of youth, unless it be rightly trained, is prone to pursue the pleasures of the world; and, unless it be formed, from its tender years, unto piety and religion, before habits of vice have wholly taken possession of men, it never will perfectly, and without the greatest and almost singular help of Almighty God persevere in ecclesiastical discipline; the holy synod ordains that all cathedral, metropolitan, and other churches greater than these, shall

¹ They are: (1) *Victimæ paschali* (11 cent.); (2) *Veni, Sancte Spiritus* (13 cent.); (3) *Lauda, Sion* (13 cent.); (4) *Stabat mater* (early 14 cent.); and (5) *Dies iræ* (13 cent.). Fortescue, 276 sqq.

² G. Grente, *St Pie V* (“Les Saints”), 225, n. 1.

³ *Cath. Enc.*, xiii. 694.

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be bound, each according to the measure of its means and the extent of the diocese, to maintain, to educate religiously, and to instruct a certain number of youths of their city and diocese, or, if [that number] cannot there be found, of that province, in a college to be chosen by the bishop for this purpose near the said churches or in some other convenient place. And into this college shall be received such as are at least twelve years old, born in lawful wedlock, and who know how to read and write competently, and whose disposition and inclination afford a hope that they will always serve in the ecclesiastical ministries. And it wishes that the children of the poor be principally selected; though it does not, however, exclude those of the more wealthy, provided they be maintained at their own expense, and carry before them a desire of serving God and the Church.

"The Bishop, having divided these youths into as many classes as seem fit to him, according to their number, age, and progress in ecclesiastical discipline, shall, when it seems convenient to him, assign some of them to the ministry of the churches [and] keep the others in the college to be instructed; and shall supply the place of those who have been withdrawn by others; that so this college may be a perpetual seminary of ministers of God.

"And, to the end that the youths may be the more conveniently trained in the aforesaid ecclesiastical discipline, they shall always at once wear the tonsure and the clerical dress; they shall learn grammar, singing, ecclesiastical computation and the other liberal arts; they shall be instructed in sacred Scripture; ecclesiastical books; the homilies of the saints; the manner of administering the sacraments, especially those things which shall seem suited unto hearing confessions; and the forms of the rites and ceremonies.

"The Bishop shall take care that they be every day present at the sacrifice of the Mass, and that they confess their sins at least once a month; and receive the body of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the judgment of their Confessor; and, on festivals, serve in the cathedral and other churches of the place. All which, and other things advantageous and needful unto this object, all bishops shall ordain, with

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the advice of two of the senior and most discreet canons whom themselves have chosen, as the Holy Spirit shall have suggested; and shall make it their care, by frequent visitation, that the same be always observed. The forward and incorrigible, and the disseminators of evil morals, they shall punish sharply, even if necessary by expulsion; and, removing all hindrances, they shall carefully attend to whatsoever things appear to tend to preserve and advance so pious and holy an institution.”¹

Nothing so distinguishes the Church of the Catholic Revival from the Church which the reformers challenged as the efficiency of its clergy. In the later Middle Ages candidates for Orders were too often expected to yield to the coarseness of the age, pitchforked into the Universities without supervision, and thrust into a benefice just for a living. The clergy thus came to be men of small character and little education. Too unlearned to preach, the parish priest generally left that task to the Religious.² He ministered the sacraments; but the people remained untaught. No greater service therefore was rendered to the revival of religion than by the decree establishing seminaries, with a view to the formation of a pious and competent clergy. It owed its origin to the proposals of Cardinal Pole in his *Reformatio Angliae*, 1556.³ It was first put in hand by Cardinal Borromeo, whose foundations for the diocese of Milan became the models for other places. Already in 1565 the house of San Vito at Carobbio had a hundred students; and the great building at Milan known as the Seminario Teologico on the Corso Venezia, north-east of the Duomo, was built later. There were *Petits Seminaires* also, as to-day, to serve as preparatory schools for the recruitment of the *Grands Seminaires*. Pius V took up the task: and frequently wrote that, “among all the ordinances of the Council, none

¹ Conc. Trid. Sess. XXIII., 15 July 1563, *de Ref.*, c. 18; *Can. et decr.*, 140 sqq.; tr. T. A. Buckley, *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, 171 sqq.

² In Spain “Preaching was regarded as the prerogative of the monks, parish priests devoting so little attention to it that it actually gave offence if a secular priest made an appearance as a preacher,” Pastor, xiii. 137; and “It was quite an unheard-of thing, even in Italy, that parish priests should preach; many of them never heard confessions, while numbers were hardly able to read.” *Ib.*, 195.

³ R. W. Dixon, *Hist. C. of E.*, iv. 466.

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was so useful or so much in keeping with the needs of the times as the decree about seminaries.”¹ In Italy first, and in Germany rather later, resources were found for their establishment.² They gave to the Church, if not always a learned, at any rate a trained and disciplined clergy.

(6) Synods also were revived and provided for, by decree of the Council of Trent. “Provincial Councils, wheresoever they have been omitted, shall be renewed, for the regulating of morals, the correcting of excesses, the settling of controversies . . . every third year, either after the octave of the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, or at some other more convenient time. . . . Diocesan Synods also shall be celebrated every year”³ And, in close connexion with Synods, episcopal Visitations⁴ were ordered; and the diocese was to be covered in one year or, if too large, in two. St Charles is again the example of zeal for reform by these means. In the course of the twenty-one years during which he occupied the see of Milan, he held six provincial councils and as many as eleven diocesan synods. In the latter, he caused his clergy to adopt the reforms which his experience had shown to be desirable—an experience personally gained by his pastoral visitations. He would arrive in the evening, when everybody had come back from their work in the fields; and go to the church, where he would give them a few words of welcome. Then he would have a talk with the parish priest, and learn where the religious life of the people was strong or weak. Next morning, at Mass, he would make an appropriate sermon; and then proceed to whatever wanted doing—the consecration of the church, a confirmation, inspection of the furniture and ornaments of the church, the parish registers, and so forth. Some of the baptisteries dating from his time, and still to be found, as at Baveno on Lake Maggiore or at Lenno on the Lake of Como, testify to his zeal for the due administration of that sacrament; nor did he neglect the continued instruction in

¹ Pastor, xvii. 211

² For dates of their establishment, see *ib.*, 212, n. 3. The Jesuits often took charge; and their *Collegium Germanicum* and *Collegium Romanum* “were looked upon as seminaries in the sense of the Council.” *Ib.*, xvi. 90.

³ Sess. XXIV., *de Ref.*, c. 2; *Can. et decr.*, 155.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. 3.

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the faith that should follow. Everywhere he instituted Catechisms or Schools of Christian Doctrine; and one constant theme of instruction with him was the practice of daily Communion. "The frequent receiving of the divine mysteries," he wrote, 17 April 1566, "is the surest safeguard against the growth of vice."¹

§ 5. Pius V,² 1566-†72, succeeded his namesake in 1566. With Pius IV the weapons of reform had been perfected—chief of them all, the Council of Trent. Repression of heresy,³ resistance to the Turk,⁴ and the actual reformation of those who needed it⁵ were the preoccupations of Pius V.

Born of poor parents at Bosco, near Alessandria, 17 January 1504, he was professed, 18 May 1521, as Michael Ghislieri at the Dominican Convent of Vigevano, some twenty-four miles to the south-west of Milan. Then he became Prior of the Convent of Alba, about forty miles to the south-west of Alessandria. His appointment as Inquisitor of the diocese of Como brought him at Rome into contact with Caraffa, who saw in him a kindred spirit. At Caraffa's recommendation, Julius III made him Inquisitor-General, 1551. No sooner did Caraffa himself become Paul IV than he confirmed him in that office, and made him Cardinal, 15 March 1557. The Cardinal of Alessandria, as he now was called, fell out of favour with Pius IV; but, by the aid of his nephew St Charles Borromeo,⁶ was chosen to succeed him, 7 January 1566, as the leader of the rigid party in the Church.

Pius V was well able to sustain this rôle by himself; but was supported by men of equal sanctity. There was St Philip Neri, 1515-†95, with his band of disciples, working close at hand for the moral regeneration of the Eternal City. In North Italy, it was under Pius V that the great Archbishop of Milan began by means of his provincial councils to become the disciplinary lawgiver for the whole Church. Germany had its Peter Canisius, 1521-†97, and France, at least, its Cardinal of Lorraine, †1574, and its

¹ Quoted in L. Celier, *St Charles Borromée* ("Les Saints"), 130.

² Ranke, i. 268 sqq.; Pastor, xvii., xviii.; *Cath Enc*, xii. 130, and G. Grente, *St Pie V* ("Les Saints").

³ Grente, c. vi.

⁴ *Ib.*, c. vii.

⁵ *Ib.*, c. viii.

⁶ Letter of 26 February 1566 to the Infant of Portugal: Ranke, i. 268; Grente, 34.

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Possevino, †1611.¹ In Spain there was "that simple priest who, before the time of Pius V, had for forty years travelled about in voluntary poverty, preaching from one city to another, and by his eloquence working miracles of moral regeneration; this was Juan d'Avila,"² †1569, the apostle of Andalusia; and in Corsica there was Alessandro Sauli, General of the Barnabites, 1565, who, as Bishop of Aleria 1570-91, spent twenty years in repairing the religious devastation of the island, by means of synods, seminaries, catechisms and episcopal visitations.³ The reforming spirit of Pius V then penetrated the whole Church; and in legislation, as in diplomatic action, he did not disappoint the expectations which St Charles Borromeo and others had formed of him.

At home, by the bull *Inter multiplices*,⁴ of 21 December 1566, he increased the powers of the Inquisition, even at the expense of the Holy See. "His own long experience as Grand Inquisitor had shewn him that many of those summoned before the tribunal of the faith . . . deceived their judges and even the Popes. Several accused persons had even succeeded in obtaining . . . Papal briefs . . . which ensured to them the protection of the Pope, and prevented the Inquisition from taking any further action against them. . . . In order to obviate this abuse, Pius V then proceeds to give the Inquisition a free hand, and to take steps against heretics in spite of such documents, especially when they had given fresh signs of heresy."⁵ The tribunals became more active; and for the next three years *autos-da-fé*⁶ in Rome became more common. On 23 June 1566, fifteen were sentenced, one of whom, Pompeo de' Monti, was beheaded and burned. Three such scenes followed, 24 February, 26 June, and 21 September 1567; and, at the last, Pietro Carnesecchi received sentence and was beheaded and burnt, 1 October. In 1568, sixty persons were condemned, of whom two perished at the stake. In 1569 only a few "obstinate heretics" persisted: Bartolommeo Bartoccio was burned to death and Aonio Paleario,

¹ Pastor, xvii. 236. For Antonio Possevino, see *Cath. Enc.*, xii. 317.

² *Ib.*, 237.

³ *Ib.*, 237-9

⁴ *Magnum Bullarium Romanum*, ii. 214-5 (Luxemburgi, 1727).

⁵ Pastor, xvii. 295.

⁶ *Ib.*, 300 sqq

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humanist and rhetorician rather than reformer, was strangled and burnt, 3 July 1570. Pius V made the power of the Inquisition felt in other places, even in Venice,¹ where there were as many as eighty-two trials. He frightened Genoa and Lucca, where heresy was prevalent owing to the connexion of these cities, through trade, with Lyons and Geneva,² while Milan³ and Mantua⁴ felt the weight of his hand. It should not be forgotten that other offences, besides heresy, came in for repression: sorcery and witchcraft,⁵ for example; while the prevalent vice of sodomy, which had so disfigured the times of the Renaissance in Rome, was repeatedly punished by burning under Pius V. By the end of the first half of his reign, the terror had done its work in Italy, and Pius V even succeeded in wresting from Philip II the long-drawn trial of Bartolomeo Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain, 1558-†76. We could not now approve the horrible barbarity of the Inquisition; but "it sealed the doom of Protestantism in Italy," and "it can hardly be doubted that the victory of Protestantism there would have given to Italy as well its Thirty Years' War. The country-side would have become a wilderness, and the lover of art can only think with horror of the fate that would have overtaken the masterpieces of Raphael and Michael Angelo, if a war against sacred images had broken loose in the privileged sanctuary of the arts. . . . Pius V also preserved to her one bond of union—her common religious thought and outlook."⁶

Besides putting down heresy and immorality, Pius V set himself to deal with abuses. He "had a morbid fear of soiling his hands with money," and not only "inaugurated a ruthless war against simony," but declined annates and payment for the pallium; insisted on dispensations being granted gratuitously, and abolished the preachers of indulgences.⁷ By the bull *Admonet nos*,⁸ of 29 March 1567, he forbade the alienation of any property or fief of the Church; and so put an end to nepotism of the older sort. It was one thing, as the Popes of the Renaissance had done,

¹ Pastor, xvii. 316 sqq. ² *Ib.*, 317 ³ *Ib.*, 320.

⁴ *Ib.*, 321 sqq. ⁵ *Ib.*, 332 sqq. ⁶ *Ib.*, 382.

⁷ *Ib.*, 229 sq. For Indulgences, see Conc. Trid. Sess. XXI, *de Ref.*, c. 9 and Sess. XXV, *Decr. de Indulgentiis*, *Can. et decr.*, 115, 204.

⁸ *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, ii 236-7

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to carve out principalities for their nephews, by detaching ecclesiastical territory from the Church. It was quite another to set up a Cardinal-nephew as Secretary of State, endowed with a modest salary, so that the Pope might have at least one friend at hand on whom he could rely. For this purpose only, and at the advice of the Cardinals and of the Spanish Ambassador, Pius V raised his great-nephew Michele Bonelli, to the Cardinalate, 6 March 1566, and made him his chief minister.¹

Several of these reforms were taken in hand in order to give effect to the decrees of the Council of Trent. One of them, on which he was especially insistent, was as to the duty of residence.² Bishops were to reside in person among their flocks, and to require the same residence of priests in their parishes. He made Rome an exceedingly uncomfortable place for those who tarried there: and by *Cum aliis* of 10 June 1566 he ordered legal proceedings to be taken against them. Equally uncomfortable for other hangers-on were the reforms in the papal household. The Pope reduced its expenses by half, and his Court from a thousand to five hundred persons.³ Not less austere was his reform of the Religious Orders.⁴ He forbade monks to live outside their monasteries;⁵ and insisted on the enclosure of nuns.⁶ These reforms extended not only to the Papal States, but to Venice and Naples, to Spain, including the Low Countries, and to Portugal. "The Pontiff ruled both peninsulas with an authority more unlimited than had been known for long periods by his predecessors; and the decrees of the Council of Trent were in practical activity through all [Roman] Catholic countries."⁷

Not less vigilant was Pius V in his dealings with affairs abroad. In 1568, he republished, with additions, the bull *In coena Domini*.⁸ It was a papal sentence of excommunication, pronounced against heretics every Maundy

¹ Pastor, xvii. 77 sqq.

² *Ib.*, 187 sqq., 217 sqq.

³ Paul IV had a Court of 734 persons, with 247 horses; Pius IV, 1062 persons and 358 horses; Pius V (in 1571), 601 persons and 161 horses. Pastor, xvii. 143.

⁴ *Ib.*, 240 sqq.

⁵ *Ib.*, 264.

⁶ *Ib.*, 265.

⁷ Ranke, i. 283.

⁸ Mirbt⁴, No. 513. See comments in Janus, *The Pope and the Council*, 384 sqq.

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Thursday; and increasingly resented by Catholic Sovereigns until it was finally abandoned in 1773 by Clement XIV. Pius V may have been encouraged by the example of Paul IV who, by *Cum ex apostolatus officio*,¹ of 15 February 1559, had claimed to depose heretical princes: but to revive such claims, and to attempt to enforce them, was significant of the power now exerted by the Roman See. In 1569 he congratulated the Duke of Alba upon the efficiency of his Council of Blood, and sent him a jewelled cap and a sword with the inscription—*Accipe sanctum gladium, munus a Deo in quo dejicies adversarios populi mei Israel*.² In the same year, he sent troops to aid the Catholics of France, exhorting Charles IX, 1560-†74, to pluck up heresy by the roots;³ and gave orders to their commander to "take no Huguenot prisoner, but instantly to kill every one that should fall into his hands."⁴ He spared no pains to revive the lukewarm loyalty of the Emperor Maximilian II, 1564-†76, towards the Church;⁵ he aided the Roman Catholics of England in their plots against the life of Elizabeth,⁶ supported the rebellion of the Northern Earls, 1569,⁷ and finally issued the bull *Regnans in excelsis*,⁸ 25 February 1570, to effect her excommunication and deposition. His last act was to gather all Southern Christendom about him for a final onslaught upon the Turk; and, with his aid, under Don John of Austria, †1578, at the battle of Lepanto⁹ the fleets of Spain, Venice and the papacy, broke the career of Turkish conquest for good.

§ 6. Gregory XIII,¹⁰ 1572-†85, was a contrast to his predecessor—easy-going where Pius V was austere. But the Jesuits and Theatines at his Court controlled him; and he had to let himself be guided by the new type of public opinion in Rome. He was unpopular there, because of his demands on the taxes, with a view to subsidising the Catholic reaction beyond the limits of the Papal States.¹¹ He

¹ Mirbt⁴, No 441; Janus, 382 sq.

² Motley, *Dutch Republic*, III, v.; Grente, 156 sq.

³ Grente, 130 sqq.

⁴ Ranke, i. 186.

⁵ Grente, 109 q

⁶ A. F. Pollard, in *Pol. Hist. Eng.*, 1547-1603, 299

⁷ *Ib.*, 293.

⁸ Mirbt⁴, No 491.

⁹ Grente, c. vii.

¹⁰ Ranke, i. 319 sqq.; Pastor, XIX, XX.; *Cath. Enc.*, VII. 1-4.

¹¹ *Ib.*, 325.

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quarrelled with the nobles.¹ The brigands grew in numbers and daring;² while the taxes remained unpaid.³ His domestic government, in short, was hardly a success. But, on the wider field of the Church at large, Gregory XIII did better. He never lost an opportunity of helping the revival of religion. Thus, he kept an eye on persons most suitable for bishoprics.⁴ He was the steady patron of St Philip Neri.⁵ Philip had miraculously healed the Pope's valet; and was always admitted to the Pope's study, without more ado.⁶ He liberally endowed the Colleges of the Jesuits in Rome⁷—Roman, 1572; German, 1573; Greek, 1577; English, 1579. He made rich presents to the house of their Professed; and supported all their labours for a thoroughly Catholic system of education, especially for the clergy.⁸ As many as twenty-two Jesuit Colleges owed their foundation to his munificence and he is said to "have spent two million [ducats] on the support of young men in the pursuit of their studies."⁹ Attached to these colleges, were the Pontifical Seminaries which were founded under Gregory XIII, especially in Germany, to provide for the training of the clergy where the bishops were slow to see the need of it, and to set up episcopal seminaries, as directed by the Council of Trent. In these were supported, at the expense of the Pope, young men of ability for the priesthood: but too poor to provide for, or even to contribute to, their own training. Among them were those of Vienna, the first in date (1574); Gratz, in Styria, 1578; Dillingen, in Bavaria, 1585; and Fulda, 1584. Fr. Anton Possevino set up one for the extreme north of Europe at Braunsberg, in East Prussia, another at Kolozvar (Clausenburg) for Transylvania. For the Czechs, Gregory XIII founded Olmütz in Bohemia, for the Ruthenians, Vilna in Lithuania, 1582, and for the Dalmatians, Notre Dame de Lorette, 1580. And the whole of this enterprise depended upon the Jesuits to whom Gregory entrusted it: and who, in his time, numbered not less than 6000 Religious, with 110 houses and 21 provinces.¹⁰

¹ Ranke, i. 326 sqq.

² *Ib.*, 329 sq.

³ *Ib.*, 331.

⁴ *Ib.*, 322.

⁵ *Ib.*, 383.

⁶ L. Ponnelle et L. Bordet, *S. Philippe Néri* (Paris, 1928), 244 sq

⁷ Pastor, xix. 239 sqq.

⁸ Ranke, i. 322 sq.

⁹ *Ib.*, 325

¹⁰ Dom Ch. Poulet, *Hist. d. l'Église*, ii. 191

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Gregory also completed the liturgical forms of Pius V, and brought to fruition further hopes of the Council of Trent, by his reform of the Calendar.¹ The astronomical year was a little shorter than the civil year (365 days and 24-22 hours instead of 365 days and 25 hours). Thus the civil year, being too long, tended to fall behind the astronomical year; and the arrears, since the last correction made by Julius Cæsar, had now amounted to ten days. In order to re-establish the correspondence, it was decided that the day after 4 October 1582, should be reckoned as 15 October. Other adjustments had also to be made, to provide against non-correspondence in the future. Thus, of the four years ending the century—1600, 1700, 1800, 1900—only one was to be reckoned as leap year. And thus the principal Christian feasts were brought into as close relation as possible with the astral year. The reform was long in preparation; but, at last, authority was given to it by *Inter gravissimas*,² of 24 February 1582: and "the reform of the Calendar, accomplished by Pope Gregory XIII, was another proof of that assiduous care which he extended over the whole Catholic world." The Gregorian Calendar, however, was only adopted in England in 1752.³

Not all Gregory's undertakings were so pacific: for he lent vigorous aid to attacks upon heretical princes. Thus, 1572, he hailed with joy the news of the Massacre of St Bartholomew, and celebrated it with a *Te Deum* at the church of St Mark and a Mass at the church of St Louis.⁴ He welcomed the efforts of the Jesuit Antonio Possevino for the conversion,⁵ 1578, of John III, King of Sweden 1568-†92. He fomented insurrections in Ireland; the first under Sir Thomas Stukeley; the second, 1579, under James Fitzmaurice, with Nicholas Sanders,⁶ 1530-†81, author of the *De origine et progressu Schismatis Anglicani*, as Legate, "to fan the flames of crusading zeal."⁷ And he sent forth, 1580, the Jesuits, Robert Parsons,⁸ 1546-†1610, and Edmund Campion,⁹ 1540-†81, on their mission to England,¹⁰ making no secret to Philip II and the Guises of his desire for a

¹ Pastor, xix. c. 8.

² Mirbt⁴, No. 495.

³ *Pol Hist. Eng.*, ix. 423

⁴ Pastor, xix. 499 sqq.

⁵ Ranke, i. 452 sqq.

⁶ *Cath Enc.*, xiii 435.

⁷ *Pol Hist. Eng.*, xi 430.

⁸ *Cath Enc.*, xi. 729.

⁹ *Ib.*, v 293 sq.

¹⁰ Ranke, i 458 sqq

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general combination against Elizabeth. "Her murder," wrote his secretary, 12 December 1580, to the nuncio in Madrid; "would be a fine deed, and no sin."¹ Gregory XIII also concerted the League of Paris, Spain and the House of Guise; and made it dangerous, under Henry III and Henry IV, first to the Crown and afterwards to the national unity of France. In short, there was hardly a Catholic Sovereign whom he did not help with money—the Emperor, Charles IX of France, the Archduke Charles of Styria,² the Grand Master of the Knights of Malta; nor a "heretic" country in which he did not intervene, as in England and the Netherlands, for the destruction of the enemies of the Holy See.

§ 7. But it was with Sixtus V,³ 1585–1590, that the papal government displayed its full vigour. Born of poor parents, 18 December 1521, Felice Peretti entered the Franciscan Order at the age of twelve. He became a great preacher, and attached himself to the party of reform. Pius V appointed him Vicar-General of the Franciscans, and made him a Cardinal, 1570. As Pope, he manifested a marvellous talent for administration.

Thus, at home, he put down the brigands;⁴ encouraged agriculture and manufactures;⁵ and gave important privileges to the towns.⁶ Rome itself was transformed by him. He abhorred "the ugly antiquities," as he called them; and made a fine city instead. He brought the Acqua Felice into Rome; set up the great obelisk in the front of St Peter's; and spent freely on public works, fine streets, and architectural adornments.⁷ His worst fault was greed of money. To gratify this, he resorted to ruinous expedients in finance.⁸ He not only sold offices, but created new offices for sale. He raised loans recklessly, and secured the interest upon increased taxes which obstructed the growth of the industries he was trying to foster. Yet, by his frugality—for his table cost only 3s. a day⁹—he continued to secure a large surplus annually, and he had

¹ "Non solo non peccaria, ma anco merterea." Mirbt⁴, No. 494, B

² Ranke, i. 488.

³ *Ib.*, i. 333 sqq.; Pastor, xxi., xxii.; *C.M.H.*, III, c. xiii.; *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 33.

⁴ Ranke, i. 339 sqq.

⁵ *Ib.*, 358 sqq.

⁶ *Ib.*, 347.

⁷ *Ib.*, 350 sqq.

⁸ *Ib.*, 345.

⁹ *Ib.*, 353.

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as much as five millions of scudi hoarded in the Castle of St Angelo. By two bulls, he revised the whole system of papal government. By *Immensa aeterna Dei*,¹ of 11 February 1588, he distributed its functions among fifteen Congregations. By *Postquam verus*² of 15 November 1586, he fixed the number of Cardinals at seventy: and divided them into three orders—six bishops, fifty priests and fourteen deacons. With the exception of his nephew,³ the Cardinal Montalto, whom he promoted in order to keep affairs of state under his immediate control, the men whom Sixtus V advanced to high position were eminent for their piety, their learning and their zeal.⁴

Strongly established in his government at home, Sixtus V found himself free to support the cause of the Church at large. Enterprises conceived in the spirit of Pius V and in the hope of surpassing the victory of Lepanto did not seem impossible to him. He dreamed of the annihilation of the Turkish Empire, the conquest of Egypt, the recovery of Jerusalem and the Holy Sepulchre. "He believed himself selected by providence for the realisation of those ideas that floated before his imagination."⁵ But he had the good sense to put more practicable things first. He allied himself with the Catholic Sovereigns; and refrained, even where the interests of the Papal States might seem to require it, from having any foes but those of the Church. Thus, 27 June 1587, he promised a subsidy to Philip II in aid of the Armada against England.⁶ In 1588, he encouraged Charles Emmanuel I, Duke of Savoy 1580-†1630, to attack Geneva.⁷ He aided Stephen Batory,⁸ 1575-†186, and Sigismund III,⁹ King of Poland 1587-†1632, to maintain the cause of Catholicism there, and the latter to re-establish it in Sweden.¹⁰ He adroitly saved France from becoming a Spanish dependency by refusing permanent¹¹ alliance with the Guises; and then, after the assassination of Henry III, 1 August 1589, he made overtures, January 1590, to Henry IV which ended in his becoming a Catholic. He thus contrived to keep the balance of power in Europe by

¹ *Magn. Bull. Rom.*, ii. 667 sq.

² Pastor, xxi. 227 sq.

³ Alessandro Peretti, made Cardinal at 15: *ib.*, 62.

⁴ Ranke, i. 348

⁵ *Ib.*, ii. 17.

⁶ *Ib.*, i. 517

⁷ *Ib.*, 511.

⁸ *Ib.*, ii. 138 sqq.

⁹ *Ib.*, i. 140.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, i. 143 sqq.

¹¹ *Ib.*, i. 519 sqq.

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gratifying the national aspirations of France; and so secured, at one and the same time, a second Roman Catholic potentate of the first rank as well as the independence of the Holy See.

§ 8 What Sixtus V thus inaugurated, the last Pope of the century, Clement VIII,¹ 1592-†1605, successfully carried out. Ippolito Aldobrandini was the youngest son of a Florentine lawyer, and was born in exile 1536. He took St Philip Neri for his spiritual director and was nominated Cardinal by Sixtus V. Though anti-Spanish in sympathy, he refrained from showing it; and proceeded with caution until, by the absolution of Henry IV on 17 September 1595, he secured France and the French Church for the papacy² and independence for the Holy See.³ But he scarcely deserves to rank with the great Popes who preceded him. He maintained the faith by the accustomed methods: as, for instance, when Giordano Bruno,⁴ 1548-†1600, was put to death by the Inquisition in the Campo dei Fiori. But nepotism began again; and pensioners of foreign Courts multiplied among the Cardinals. Clement let the aggressive movement drop: and with him, as with the death of Philip II in 1598, a lull in the strife set in. Clement, however, completed some reforming projects of the Council of Trent. He brought to a conclusion the liturgical reform by the publication of revised editions of the service-books: the Pontifical, 1596; the Ceremonial of Bishops, 1600; the Breviary, 1602; and the Missal, 1604. More important, however, than any of these was the revision of the Vulgate, put out by Clement VIII and associated with the name of Bellarmine.

§ 9. Robert Bellarmine,⁵ 1542-†1621, was born at Montepulciano in Tuscany, 4 October 1542. His mother was Cinthia Cervini, sister of Pope Marcellus II: a devout woman, who joyfully surrendered her son to the Jesuits, 1559. On entering the Society, he went to Rome, and spent three years in philosophy at the *Collegium Romanum*; thence

¹ Ranke, ii. 42 *sqq.*, *Cath. Enc.*, iv. 27.

² Ranke, ii. 56; Jervis, *Hist. Ch. Fr.*, i. 102 *sq.*

³ *Ib.*, ii. 59 *sq.*

⁴ *Ib.*, i. 373; *Cath. Enc.*, iii. 17.

⁵ J. Thérèse, S.J., *Robert Bellarmine* (Paris, 1923—"Les Saints"); *Cath. Enc.*, ii. 411-3.

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to Florence, as a teacher of the classics. Here, when only twenty-two years of age and not yet in Holy Orders, he was charged by his superiors with preaching on Sundays and Holy-days. But Florence could not keep him for more than a year; and, 28 October 1564, he became professor of rhetoric at the College of Mondovì in Piedmont. He had not yet begun the study of theology; and in 1567 he was sent to Pavia for that purpose. Two years later he passed to Louvain, as professor of theology, 1569-76; and to this appointment he owed his acquaintance with heresy as it had developed in the north of Europe. One of the heretics was Michel de Bay (Baius), Chancellor of the University. His writings contained on the one hand, a curious mixture of tenets respecting unfallen human nature that were Pelagian¹ with others respecting sin and grace that were Augustinian;² and, on the other hand, anticipations of Jansenism. Seventy-nine propositions extracted from them were condemned, 1 October 1567, by *Ex omnibus afflictionibus*³ of Pius V.

The cold climate of the north was more than the frail health of Bellarmine could stand; and he was recalled to Rome, 28 July 1576, by Fr. Mercurian, who had just succeeded St Francis Borgia as General of the Jesuits. Gregory XIII had recently set up at the *Collegium Romanum* a course of study in controversial theology, for the benefit of young clerics from the *Collegium Germanicum* and the *Collegium Anglicanum* who were going as missionaries to their respective countries. Bellarmine returned just in time to be entrusted with the course; and for twelve years, 1576-88, a series of lectures ensued which were afterwards published, 1586-93, under the title *Disputationes de controversiis Christianae Fidei adversus hujus temporis haereticos*.⁴ Earlier opponents had dealt with points of Lutheran or Calvinist doctrine, as they arose; or, like Peter Canisius, had put out summaries in the form of Catechisms. But here was a treatise on the grand scale and in systematic arrangement which at once became the arsenal for all future exposition or defence of the faith and order of the Roman Catholic Church. Sixtus V, however, placed the

¹ No. 26, in the bull.

² Mirbt⁴, No. 490.

³ Nos. 25, 27, 28.

⁴ Mirbt⁴, Nos. 499-504.

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Controversies of Bellarmine on the *Index*.¹ It put limits to the temporal jurisdiction of the Pope ² of which he did not approve. But, fortunately for the credit of Bellarmine, the Pope died before the *Index* was published; and, when it was issued, it appeared without mention of his work.

Meanwhile, Bellarmine had been absent from Rome, 1589-90. He returned to take a foremost part in the production of the edition of the Vulgate known as the Sixto-Clementine, 1592. This edition ³ was the tardy outcome of the desire of the Council of Trent ⁴ for a text that could be regarded as both official and accurate.⁵ The task of preparing such a text had not been neglected by either Pius IV or Pius V. Manuscripts were collected, and a commission appointed to carry on the work. But it languished till the days of Sixtus V. He pushed on the project with characteristic zeal; and, while renewing the commission, himself worked at examining the readings and correcting the proofs. The result was the Sixtine edition of the Vulgate published in 1590, and introduced by the famous bull *Aeternus ille* of 1 March 1589-90.⁶ In this, the Pope recounted the care which he and the scholars and divines who had assisted him had given to the book, "ita tamen ut veterem multis in Ecclesia abhinc seculis receptam lectionem omnino retinuerimus." It was decreed therefore that this edition was to be considered as the actual Vulgate, prescribed and pronounced authentic by the Council of Trent; and that, under penalty of the greater excommunication, this version alone was to be used ⁷ throughout the Christian world.

The Sixtine edition, however, met the fate of most revised versions—unpopularity amongst clergy and laity, who were used to the unrevised text; and an order in the bull that the

¹ Mirbt⁴, No. 498. "Propter illam propositionem de dominio papae ducto in totum orbem."

² Pontificem, ut pontificem, non habere directe et immediate ullam temporalem potestatem sed solum spirituales; tamen ratione spirituali habere saltem inducite potestatem quandam eamque summam in temporalibus, *ib.*, No. 500 (p. 359, ll. 42-5)

³ This account is taken from that of the Dean of Christ Church, s.v. "Vulgate" in Hastings, *Dict. Bibl.*, iv 880 *sqq.*

⁴ Sess. IV Decr. de canonicis Scripturis *Can. et decr.*, 15

⁵ Sess. IV Decr. de editione et usu Sacrorum librorum, *ib.*, 16

⁶ For this date, see Pastor, xxi 212, n. 8.

⁷ As "vera, legitima, authentica et indubitata in omnibus publicis privatisque disputationibus." Mirbt⁴, No. 498, n. 1.

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service-books were to be corrected from the Sixtine text was especially distasteful. Bellarmine himself denounced it to Clement VIII,¹ a successor of Sixtus V: with the result that, 1592, all copies of the Sixtine edition were called in, and another official edition was published from the Vatican press, which has ever since been known as the Clementine edition. It was accompanied by a preface² written by Bellarmine "which asserted that, while the former edition was being printed Sixtus V had himself noticed many inaccuracies in the printing, and had consequently resolved to recall it and bring out a new edition: he had been prevented by death, but his design was now at length carried out by his successor, Clement VIII."

"Yet this attempt to shift the blame from the editors to the printers cannot be justified. The number of misprints in the Sixtine edition is small. . . . The real reasons for the recall of the edition must have been partly personal hostility to Sixtus, and partly a conviction that the book was not quite a worthy representative of the Vulgate text. . . . The Clementine text is critically an improvement on the Sixtine."

What then of "the penalties so freely denounced by Sixtus on any who should change the least particle of his text?" The difficulty "was surmounted by the bold device of printing his name instead of Clement's on the title-page, and so presenting the edition to the world as a Sixtine edition."³ So ran the title-page up to 1604. Then the story was forgotten: and in a modern Vulgate Bible the title runs *Biblia Sacra Vulgatae Editionis Sixti V.P.M. jussu recognita et Clementis VIII auctoritate edita*. "To the present day, the edition of 1592 remains the standard edition of the Roman Church. The stern prohibitions of the Papal Bull have succeeded in providing members of the Roman Church throughout the whole world with a fixed

¹ Novit beatitudo vestra, cui se totamque ecclesiam discrimini commiserit Sixtus V, dum juxta propriae doctrinae sensus sacrorum librorum emendationem aggressus est; nec satis scio, an gravius unquam periculum occurrerit: quoted in *H.D.B.*, iv, 881, n.

² Mirbt⁴, No. 498.

³ Clemens VIII edidit bibliam recognitam sub nomini Sixti cum praefatione quam idem N. [sc. Bellarmine] composuit. Mirbt⁴, No. 498, and see Janus, 62 sq.

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and unalterable text of the Holy Scriptures, but at the cost of suppressing any attempts at a systematic revision in the light of fuller critical knowledge." ¹

¹ *H.D.B.*, iv 882 Since this sentence was published (1906), the revision of the Vulgate has been undertaken by a commission, set up under the authority of Pius X in May 1907, the object of which is stated by its president, Cardinal Gasquet, to be "not to produce a Latin Bible, to be proposed as an official text for the approbation of the Church, but to take merely a preliminary step towards that official version . . . It is to determine as accurately as possible the text of St Jerome's Latin translation, made in the fourth century" *Cath. Enc.*, xv. 515

CHAPTER IX

THE DISSENSIONS AMONG THE REFORMERS, 1555-80: PROTESTANTS, REFORMED AND ANTI-TRINITARIANS

WHILE the forces of the Catholic Revival were gathering strength, Protestantism was losing vitality because of its dissensions.

§ 1. By the middle of the sixteenth century it had diverged into three distinct and permanent forms—Lutheran, Calvinistic, and that which, after a time, came to be called Socinian. The first principle of Protestantism is the right of every baptized person, as a priest, not only to have direct access to the Scriptures but to interpret them for himself. This inevitably meant dissensions. But the Protestant leaders were warned in time, by the extravagances of Radicals¹ and Anabaptists.² The leaders saw that to give unlimited freedom to their first principle would be to invite their own ruin. Accordingly, while the lay princes fell back at the Diet of Spire³ 1526 upon the right of each sovereign to direct the religion of his own territories, the theologians, shortly afterwards, did their part in arresting internal dissolution by producing authoritative statements of their belief at the Diet of Augsburg, 1530. Such statements were the *Confession of Augsburg*⁴ on behalf of the Lutherans, the *Fidei Ratio*⁵ of Zwingli, and the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*⁶ of the mediating cities Strassburg, Constance, Memmingen and Lindau. These documents were at first meant only for Apologies. But they became Symbolical formularies. It was only natural that as each state decided upon the religion that it would follow, its rulers should turn to the theological expert of their court or city for a standard; and that he should frame it out of his Apology. Thus Apologies became

¹ *D.C.R.*, Nos. 49-54.

² *Ib.*, Nos. 209-15.

³ *Ib.*, No. 90.

⁴ Francke, i. 7 sqq.; *D.C.R.*, No. 116.

⁵ Niemeyer, 16 sqq.; *D.C.R.*, No. 225.

⁶ Niemeyer, 740 sqq., *D.C.R.*, No. 226.

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Confessions; and, along with the territorial expansion of Protestantism, went the development of its Confessional literature.¹ Before 1550, attempts were made with some success to group several kindred states and confessions under one formulary. But, by the Peace of Augsburg² 1555, each set of opinions had become fixed, and stood sharply aloof from the rest. There were two forms of evangelical orthodoxy, Protestant and Reformed; and one of anti-Trinitarian heterodoxy. These religious divisions produced political discord. The Protestants could rarely act together, state and state; and nearly every Protestant state found itself weakened from within because of rival religious factions within its own borders.

§ 2. We begin with Lutheranism.

(1) The steps of its doctrinal development first appear in the fifteen *Articles of Marburg*,³ 3 October 1529, which Luther and others drew up to define his position against Zwingli and the reformers of German Switzerland. These were revised and stiffened in the seventeen *Articles of Schwabach*,⁴ 16 October. They were Luther's handiwork: and became the basis of an alliance between the Lutheran states of northern Germany to the exclusion of Strassburg and Ulm.⁵ Both these documents led up to, and were superseded by, 25 June 1530, the *Confession of Augsburg* which, to the exclusion of the *Fidei Ratio* and the *Confessio Tetrapolitana*, was adopted by the Lutheran princes and cities. It was the work of the conciliatory Melancthon; and received modification at his hands in the *Apologia Confessionis*⁶ (the second of the Lutheran Symbolical Books), which he finished at Wittenberg in April 1531. This enabled the four cities to accept it; and so to gain admission to the League of Schmalkald.⁷ On 15 February 1537, the *Articles of Schmalkald*,⁸ composed by Luther, were accepted by the League. They were a confession of faith which drew together the Lutheran states for mutual defence; and were intended partly to secure political and religious unity among

¹ C. Beard, *The Reformation*, c. viii.: The rise of Protestant scholasticism.

² D.C.R., No 149.

³ *Ib.*, No. 110.

⁴ *Ib.*, No. 111.

⁵ Hardwick, *Ref.*, 52, n. 1.

⁶ Francke, i. 51 sqq.

⁷ D.C.R., No 124.

⁸ Francke, ii. 1 sqq.; D.C.R., No. 128.

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themselves but also for the information of the Pope, the Emperor and the coming Council. Thus, largely under stress of political exigences, the Lutheran states and cities were drawn together by the help of formularies akin to the *Confession of Augsburg*. The process was greatly assisted by two theologians of conciliatory temper—Melanchthon and Bucer. Martin Bucer, the Reformer of Strassburg, stood theologically, as Strassburg and the other three cities stood geographically, between Wittenberg and Zurich. If Bucer had induced them, 1532, to accept the *Confession of Augsburg*, Melanchthon cemented the alliance by modifying its language still further in the *Concord of Wittenberg*¹ 1536 and again in the *Confessio Variata*,² 1540. But in 1544, with the *Kurtzes Bekenntniss vom Abendmahl*, Luther broke out into all his old violence against the Sacramentaries; and from that time onwards Protestant and Reformed were at daggers drawn. There were other modifications of the official Lutheran language in the *Confessio Saxonica*³ 1551 and the *Confessio Wirtembergensis*⁴ 1552. But they were no more than restatements for presentation at the Council of Trent.

(2) In territorial expansion, Lutheranism had drawn to its side by 1555 a large part of Northern Europe. Within the Empire, it dominated Saxony,⁵ Hesse⁶ and most of Lower Germany, with Würtemberg driven like a wedge into the heart of the Catholic south.⁷ Lutheranism also struck root in Bohemia, including Silesia and Moravia, where difficulties touching the Eucharist between Luther and the Bohemian Brethren, whose *Confessio Bohemica*⁸ had been presented to Ferdinand, King of Bohemia, in 1535, were got over in 1542.⁹ Outside the Empire, Lutheranism pre-

¹ D.C.R., No. 127.

² The doctrine of the Eucharist was the difficulty all through. C.A. has "vere adsint"; C.V., "vere exhibeantur," the Bucerian view; Hardwick, *Ref.*, 58, n. 1; see C.V. in Francke, iii., App. II.

³ Francke, iii., App. IV.

⁴ Le Plat., iv. 420 sqq; Hardwick, *Articles*, 124-6.

⁵ D.C.R., No. 96. ⁶ *Ib.*, No. 98.

⁷ After the Peace of Nuremberg, 1532 (D.C.R., No. 125), mostly in 1534, there went over Anhalt, Würtemberg, Pomerania, with the cities of Hanover, Frankfurt-a-M., and Augsburg, *ib.*, p. 305.

After the Truce of Frankfurt, 1539; Ducal Saxony and Electoral Brandenburg, *ib.*, p. 306 and Nos. 129, 130.

After the Peace of Augsburg, 1555; the Electoral Palatinate, *ib.*, p. 351.

⁸ Niemeyer, 771 sqq. ⁹ Hardwick, *Ref.*, 87, n. 4.

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vailed in Denmark,¹ Norway,² Sweden³ and Iceland;⁴ in Poland, including Western or Polish Prussia,⁵ in Eastern Prussia,⁶ Curland, Livonia and Esthonia; in Hungary also and Transylvania it was strong. But in Hungary, as early as 1544, divisions appear between the Saxon traders and residents who remained Lutheran, and the Magyars, who, if they ceased to be Catholics, became Calvinists. They evinced these inclinations in the *Confessio Czengerina* 7 1557; and, in 1566, by open alliance with the Swiss. In Transylvania, on the other hand, where the population was largely of German origin, the *Augsburg Confession* held its ground up to 1557.⁸

§ 3. Next, in regard to Calvinism.

(1) In its dogmatic development, Calvinism proceeded with much greater swiftness and simplicity towards its goal. It was not hampered by the jealousies of princes, each of whom must have a Confession and a Court theology of his own. It did not lend itself to piecemeal appropriation. It sprang, a complete and coherent system, from the brain of its author. It spread only by conquest, and as a whole. Thus the *Institutio Christianae Religionis* 9 1536-59 and the *Catechismus Genevensis* 10 1537-45 stand at the head of a succession of Confessions¹¹ and Catechisms,¹² which reproduce their features in the several countries where Calvinism afterwards established itself. But by 1555 Bullinger and Calvin drew together the reforms of German and French Switzerland in the *Consensus Tigurinus*,¹³ 1549. It superseded the personal and local Confessions of an earlier generation; as, for example, those of Zwingli,¹⁴ Bern,¹⁵

¹ By 1537: D.C.R., Nos. 100, 131-132A

² By 1537: D.C.R., Nos. 133-4. ³ By 1529, D.C.R., Nos. 101-2.

⁴ By 1550: *ib.*, p. 323.

⁵ By 1560: Hardwick, 74.

⁶ By 1525: D.C.R., Nos. 91-94.

⁷ Niemeyer, 539 *sqq.*; D.C.R., No. 304.

⁸ Hardwick, 91, n. 4.

⁹ D.C.R., No. 273

¹⁰ Niemeyer, 183 *sqq.*; D.C.R., No. 304.

¹¹ *Call. caru* (1550), Niemeyer, 301 *sqq.*; *Scoticana* (1561), *ib.*, 340 *sqq.*, and *Bilgaa* (1562), *ib.*, 360 *sqq.*; and the Westminster Confession, 1647.

¹² *Heuleburg* (1563), *ib.*, 390 *sqq.*; and the Westminster Catechisms, 1647.

¹³ Niemeyer, 191 *sqq.*, D.C.R., No. 319; Hardwick, *Ref.*, 119 nn.

¹⁴ *Sixty-seven Articles*, 1523; *Fidei Ratio*, 1530; *Exp. Chr. Fidei*, 1531; Niemeyer, 1-77, D.C.R., Nos. 186, 225.

¹⁵ Niemeyer, 14 *sq.*, D.C.R., No. 217.

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and Basel.¹ It drew Zürich and Basel, united by the efforts of Bullinger and Myconius in the *First Helvetic Confession* ² of 1536, into the arms of Geneva; thus bringing the reforms of German and French Switzerland into harmony with each other. It elevated and deepened Swiss beliefs about the Eucharist.³ But these very beliefs were soon seen to be imperilled by Calvin's tenet of predestination. In the *Consensus Genevensis*,⁴ which he put out 1 January 1552 to uphold it against Bolsec, it is already apparent that the Reformed could not, even with their rise in sacramental doctrine, go hand in hand with the Lutherans; for both these formularies, the *Consensus Tigurinus* and the *Consensus Genevensis*, were repellent even to Melancthon.⁵ And it is further apparent that the seeds of disunion upon the subject of predestination were already ripening within the circle of the Calvinistic communities.

(2) As to the territorial expansion of Calvinism, within a few years it had established itself as supreme in Switzerland ⁶ 1542, Scotland ⁷ 1560, and the Palatinate ⁸ 1563; while it dominated powerful parties in France ⁹ 1559, the Netherlands ¹⁰ 1562, England 1563 and Hungary ¹¹ 1557.

§ 4. Anti-Trinitarian ¹² or, as they afterwards came to be called, Socinian movements began to manifest themselves about 1542.

(1) Their dogmatic development appears later in the course of reform than Lutheran or Calvinistic tenets; nor is it till the seventeenth century that they find expression in public formularies. "The criticism which the Reformers directed against the mediæval church was at first kept within well-defined limits. . . . There was no desire to touch the doctrine of the Trinity or to question the authority of the three Creeds."¹³ But by 1530 a set of Anabaptists,¹⁴ Ludwig Hetzer, Johannes Denck and Sebastian Franck had ventured to rationalise in a Pelagian sense concerning the process of

¹ Niemeyer, 78 sqq.

² *Ib.*, 105 sqq.

³ Hardwick, *Ref.*, 119, nn. 2, 3.

⁴ Niemeyer, 218 sqq.; *D.C.R.*, No. 314.

⁵ Hardwick, 161, n. 4.

⁶ *D.C.R.*, No. 306.

⁷ *Ib.*, Nos. 348-51.

⁸ *Ib.*, No. 321.

⁹ *Ib.*, Nos. 328-30.

¹⁰ *Ib.*, No. 333.

¹¹ *Ib.*, No. 320.

¹² Hardwick, 262 sqq.; Beard, 268 sqq.

¹³ Beard, 266.

¹⁴ Hardwick, 252 sqq.

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salvation; and, working backwards from their doctrine of man, began to assail the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity.¹ But, meanwhile, another and harder tide of rationalism set in from the south. Long before the outbreak of the Lutheran reform, scepticism and infidelity had been rife in Italy." In 1529 Michael Servetus,² 1509-†1553, an Aragonese physician, accompanied Charles V thither; and, in 1531, published at Basel a direct attack upon the doctrine of the Trinity in his *De Trinitatis erroribus*. His notions, thus elaborated, spread rapidly in the soil which was already prepared for them. Many were infected. The doctrines which they rejected were such, they said, as were imported into Christianity *per philosophos Graecos*,³ and are found in the metaphysic of the Creeds. But the establishment of the Roman Inquisition quickly drove them north of the Alps. In that very year a community of anti-Trinitarians began to form in Geneva. Two natives of Siena fled to Switzerland, Bernardino Ochino, in 1542, and Laelius Socinus, 1525-†162, in 1547; besides Giorgio Biandratra, 1520-†166, from Cosenza in Calabria and Giovanni Valentino Gentile, 1520-†190, from Saluzzo. But in Wittenberg and Geneva the air was no more free than in Italy for anti-Trinitarian speculation. Some were put to death by their fellow-reformers, for claiming the same liberty of opinion as themselves; Servetus⁴ at Geneva in 1553 and Gentile⁵ at Bern in 1566. The rest had to move on; and found shelter in states east of the Empire. Thus Ochino died in Moravia⁶ 1564, while Socinus arrived in Poland, 1551.

(2) With this event begins the territorial expansion of anti-Trinitarianism. This Socinus, however, did not introduce into Poland the opinions afterwards called Socinian. A literary club⁷ existed at Cracow amongst Lutherans there before 1548. Its leading spirit was an Italian, Francesco Lismanini, formerly Provincial of the Franciscans, and

¹ Hardwick, 256, n. 5; 262.

² Jerome Zanchi, an Italian exile on his way to England, writing to Bullinger of the heterodoxy of his fellow-countrymen, says: "Hispania [the birthplace of Servetus] gallinas peperit; Italia fovet ova; nos jam pipientes pullos audimus," *ib.*, 262, n. 1.

³ *Ib.*, 118, n. 2; 263, n. 6.

⁴ *Ib.*, 263, n. 3.

⁵ *D.C.R.*, No 315.

⁶ Hardwick, 263, n. 6.

⁷ *Ib.*, 99, n. 3.

⁸ *Ib.*, 83 and n. 2; 84, n. 4; 263

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confessor to Queen Bona, daughter of the Duke of Milan and wife of Sigismund I of Poland. At one of their meetings a Belgian priest named Pastoris impugned the doctrine of the Trinity. By 1551, when the elder Socinus arrived,¹ matters had developed no further; and he himself, neither on this visit nor on a second in 1558, did more than suggest suspicions about it. He died at Zurich, 14 May 1562. But his nephew, Faustus Socinus,² 1539-†1604, expressed himself more frankly. After some years in the service of Cosimo de' Medici, the first Grand Duke of Tuscany, 1537-†174, he avowed his heresy, left his country and settled in Cracow, 1579. He found there the anti-Trinitarian community slowly growing into organised resistance, and vexed with divisions. They had been condemned by the Calvinists of Poland at the synods of Pinczow 1563 and Petrikow 1565, and a few years later they split into two parties, the one advocating Arian and the other purely Socinian opinions.³ In this state the younger Socinus found them on his arrival; and, though he never joined the sect, he gave it his name. Its doctrines he moulded into the type of error, afterwards embodied in the *Racovian Catechism*,⁴ 1605. It had a Presbyterian organisation; flourishing schools, especially at Racow; and exercised a strong moral influence over its members. Though its territorial influence was small and, as a body, it was confined to Poland, yet it was large enough to be fatal to Protestant union in that country, and to leaven the German universities with Socinian teaching.⁵ Similar opinions took root in Transylvania through Biandatra; and led to the foundation of another but independent community—the Unitarians of Transylvania.⁶

§ 5. Thus three varieties of Protestantism stood face to face with each other, and with the Catholic Church, about 1550. Each had acquired systematic development. Each had a local habitation, a name, and a following. All had

¹ Hardwick, 264 and n. 1; Beard, 271 sq.

² *Ib.*, 264; Beard, 272 sqq.

³ *Ib.*, 84, n. 4.

⁴ *Ib.*, 84, n. 4; 264, n. 3; and for a summary of the teaching of Socinianism, *ib.*, 264 sqq.

⁵ Beard, 374.

⁶ Hardwick, 91, n. 7; Beard, 275; Rees, *Racovian Catechism*, xxv. sqq.

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reached some measure of organisation. While Protestantism was thus arrested in its path towards further division, it saved itself only by crystallising into three systems so incompatible with each other that Protestants held aloof from each other, even in the face of the common enemy. Political, social and racial enmities fostered and were in turn accentuated by these religious animosities. And all this at the time when the Catholic Revival was gathering strength.

Thus (i) orthodox Protestants stood aloof from anti-Trinitarians in Poland. The Lutherans and the Bohemian Brethren, some of whom had taken refuge in Poland, 1548, on their expulsion from Bohemia by Ferdinand I,¹ had come to terms at the Synod of Kozminck,² 1555; and a further union of Lutherans and Bohemian Brethren with Calvinists had taken place by the *Consensus of Sandomir*,³ 14 April 1570. But this was a hollow affair: and the Socinians were excluded from the first. When therefore the Diet resolved, 6 January 1573, to grant toleration to all the "Dissidents"—whether Roman Catholics, the three types of "orthodox" Protestantism (Saxon, Swiss and Bohemian) as well as the Socinians—the religious divisions of Poland offered a fair field for the Catholic Revival. The country was easily won back by the Jesuits before the century ran out; and the anti-Trinitarians were expelled by the Diet in 1658.⁴

(ii) But not only could Lutheran and Calvinists rarely unite: they even persecuted each other.

Within the Empire, all Protestants had good ground for dissatisfaction with some provisions of the Peace of Augsburg; with its restrictions upon the further secularisation of Church property,⁵ and with the clause known as the Ecclesiastical Reservation.⁶ But they could not unite to make their objections felt. The north was Lutheran: the south Calvinist. The principle of *Cuius regio, eius religio*, left each prince his own master. Why should the north, which was safe enough, disturb itself for the south when it was in danger, when the Protestants of the south were Calvinists? The Calvinists were not even included in the Peace. And that very inclusion fomented the hatred between them and

¹ Hardwick, 73, n. 5; and 87.

² *Ib.*, 85, n. 2.

³ Nurneyer, 551 sqq.; *D.C.R.*, No. 322; Hardwick, 85, n. 4.

⁴ Hardwick, 85, n. 1. ⁵ *D.C.R.*, No. 149, § 19. ⁶ *Ib.*, § 18.

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the Protestants of the north; who, for policy alone, should have been their allies. So Saxony and the Palatinate maintained their hostility, with fatal results.

But these¹ and other states were further weakened by bitter disputes between Protestant and Reformed, within their own borders. In Anhalt, there was a Crypto-Calvinist *Repetitio Anhaltina*,² 1579. In Brandenburg we find the Protestants praying: *Impleat nos Deus odio Calvinianismi*,³ as they proceeded to persecute the Calvinists, c. 1600: but the tables were turned upon them when the Elector John Sigismund, 1608-†19, became a Calvinist 1614, and the *Confessiones Marchicae*⁴ were put out in favour of the Reformed. In Denmark,⁵ Hungary⁶ and Poland,⁷ outbreaks of the same hostility occur. And it was owing to the intransigence of Calvinistic Holland and Zeeland that William of Orange, 1558-†84, was unable to profit by the Pacification of Ghent 1576, so as to draw the southern provinces into his scheme for a united Republic. The Duke of Parma, †1592, was thus enabled to secure Belgium for Spain and Catholicism, not by arms but by using religious animosity to stifle the demand for political liberty.⁸

(iii) It still remains to mention the persecution of Lutherans by Lutherans, and the differences between Calvinists and Calvinists. Acrimonious divisions between the followers of Flacius Illyricus,⁹ †1575 at Jena, and the adherents of Melancthon, †1560 at Wittenberg, *i.e.* between Gnesio-Lutherans and Crypto-Calvinists,¹⁰ led to the triumph of the rigid party over the "Philippists" in the *Formula of Concord*¹¹ 1580, in Saxony; and, between one type of Calvinist and another, of Supralapsarians over Sublapsarians¹² and of Gomarists over Remonstrants at the Synod of Dort,¹³ 1618-9, in Holland.

¹ For the conflicts in Saxony, see Hardwick, 156; Beard, 288; and in the Palatinate, Hardwick, 158 *sqq.*

² Niemeyer, 612 *sqq.*; Hardwick, 162, n. 2.

³ Niemeyer, lxxiv

⁴ Hardwick, 157, n. 3; Beard, 182 *sq.*

⁵ *Ib.*, 90 *sq.*

⁶ Lodge, *Modern Europe*, III *sq.*

⁷ Hardwick, 98, n. 9

⁸ Francke, iii. 1 *sqq.*; Hardwick, 162 *sqq.*; Beard, 290

⁹ Beard, 296 *sq.*

¹⁰ *Ib.*, 297; Niemeyer, 690 *sq.*; and Hardwick, *Articles*, c. 1x

¹¹ *Ib.*, 642 *sqq.*

¹² *Ib.*, 85.

¹³ Beard, 288.

CHAPTER X

THE COURSE OF THE REACTION, 1572-98:

I. THE NETHERLANDS; II. FRANCE

I. THE NETHERLANDS ¹

WE have already traced the course of affairs in the Netherlands, to the departure of the Duke of Alba, 18 December 1573.

§ 1. Alba was succeeded by Don Luis de Requesens y Zuniga, 1573-76. Known as the Grand Commander, he was an able soldier: and, as a statesman, inclined to moderate measures but of mediocre ability. Tied down by instructions from Philip II, who was determined not to give way, he was obliged to reject the demands of the Prince of Orange for the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the restoration of the old constitution and freedom of worship. Accordingly, the war went on. Louis of Nassau was defeated and slain at Mooker Heide, five miles to the south of Nymwegen, April 1574; but this disaster was redeemed by the relief of Leyden in October. Military movements of minor importance followed in 1575; but, in March 1576, the sudden death of the Grand Commander brought with it important changes. Philip was given to procrastination, and some time elapsed before he appointed a successor. Meanwhile, the conduct of affairs devolved upon the Council of State in Brussels; and the Spanish troops, in arrears for pay, took advantage of the absence of any but civilian authority to break out into mutiny. They seized several cities, and plundered them. At last, Antwerp was given over to "the Spanish Fury," November 1576. "A shiver ran through the country as the news of the horrible crime was spread; but it was a shiver of indignation, not of fear." ²

¹ Ranke, i. 442 sqq., 461 sqq.; *C.M.H.*, iii. 221 sqq. and *C.M.H.*, Atlas, Map 22; Pastor, xx c. 1.

² Motley, IV. v. 642.

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The Prince of Orange seized the opportunity to combine north and south in a common cause. For the moment, the whole country forgot its religious differences and thought only of the general interest. All the seventeen provinces united in the Pacification of Ghent,¹ 8 November 1576, by which they agreed to expel the foreign soldiers, to establish religious toleration, and to convene a federal assembly. A special provision forbade Holland and Zeeland to interfere with Catholic worship.

§ 2. At this moment Don John of Austria, 1576-†8, half-brother to Philip II and victor of Lepanto, appeared as successor to Requesens. Forced to make concessions, when he found the Netherlands united against him, he confirmed the Pacification of Ghent by the Perpetual Edict, and promised the removal of the Spanish troops, 17 February 1577. But religious and racial differences among the states and Philip's strict injunctions to the Governor proved fatal to agreement. Moreover, the edict required that, as soon as the Spanish troops were gone, Don John was to be recognised as Governor; whereas the Pacification secured to "the principle of local government supremacy over the monarchical power."² This was to undo the life's work of William of Orange. On behalf of Holland and Zeeland, therefore, he repudiated the edict. Don John, in his turn, managed to alienate the Estates. Further, the nobles were jealous, as afterwards were the burghers of the north, of the influence of William of Orange with the people. All was making for chaos. They called in the Archduke Matthias of Austria (afterwards Emperor 1612-†9) as Governor-General. But when William appeared in Brussels, 23 September 1577, to take part in the inauguration of Matthias by the Estates, January 1578, Don John, finding himself powerless, took up arms to assert his authority, and inflicted a crushing defeat on the patriots at Gembloux, January 1578, between Brussels and Namur. But it was to no purpose. Hampered by the jealousy of Philip and destitute of both men and money, Don John died of despondency, 1 October 1578, at the age of only thirty-two. But he had, at least, done something by measures of conciliation to effect the dissolution of the Pacification of

¹ Ranke, i. 444.

² *Ib.*, 445.

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Ghent and so to prepare the way for the settlement effected by his successor.

§ 3. The settlement rested upon the fact that the Walloons of the south were Celts and Catholics, whereas the people of the north were Teutons and Calvinists; while, further, the northern provinces had, in the main, been acquired by Charles V, whereas the south had long been connected with Burgundy and the Hapsburgs. The successor of Don John was his nephew, Alexander Farnese, 1578-†92, Duke of Parma, son of the ex-Regent of the Netherlands, Margaret, the natural daughter of Charles V, and the first general of his age. Well aware of the differences—racial, religious and traditional, between north and south, he pursued the policy marked out by his uncle; and, by arts as well as arms, obtained speedy success. He made use of the jealousy of the nobles of the south against William of Orange, as well as of the antipathy of the ten southern and Catholic states against the Calvinists of the seven northern provinces, to break down the Pacification of Ghent. William himself also saw that it was impossible to maintain it, because of the fierce intolerance of the north. At length, 29 January 1579, the seven provinces of (1) Holland, (2) Zeeland, (3) Utrecht, (4) Gelderland and Zutphen, and the three Frisian provinces, (5) Overijssel, (6) Friesland, and (7) Groningen formed themselves into the Union of Utrecht, and so laid the foundation of the Dutch Republic. In 1581 they publicly repudiated their dependence on Spain. But they still thought it necessary to place themselves under some sovereign, and from 1581-3 tried the Duke of Anjou,¹ †1584. His pride, however, was hurt by the continual influence of the Prince of Orange; and, in trying to secure for himself an absolute authority independent of constitutional checks, he alienated the people and lost his throne. The Duke's unpopularity reflected upon the Prince; who, with characteristic unselfishness, had supported him.

The Prince had many enemies. The Calvinists disliked him for his tolerance; the bourgeoisie for his dictatorship; and the nobles for his influence with the people. Since July 1580, a price had been set upon his head by Philip II.¹

¹ Francis, Duke of Alençon, then of Anjou, and younger brother of Henry III, 1574-†9, the last of the Valois Kings of France.

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and at last he was assassinated, after six previous attempts, on 10 July 1584, by Balthasar Gérard. His death facilitated the task of the Duke of Parma. He set himself to reduce the south to the obedience of the King of Spain, and within a year all the chief towns of Brabant and Flanders—Bruges, Ghent, Brussels, and finally Antwerp—had fallen before him. Thus the ten provinces of the south, or what is now Belgium, returned to obedience before the death of the Duke of Parma, 1592; and the King gave them to his daughter Isabella, †1633, on her marriage to the Archduke Albert, †1621, son of the Emperor Maximilian II, 1564–†176. The Austrian Netherlands remained Hapsburg possessions until the French Revolution. They were also steadily Catholic, for the conquests of the Duke of Parma were “conducted with full consciousness and fixed design as a war of religion. . . . The Jesuits returned under the special protection of the government. . . . They settled in every town as it was conquered . . . and they transformed Belgium, which had previously been half-Protestant, into one of the most decidedly Catholic countries in the world.”¹

II. FRANCE²

The Wars of Religion, 1562–98, as we have already seen,³ fall into two periods; the transition between them being marked by the Massacre of St Bartholomew, 1572.

§ 4. From 1572–76 the strife was waged between the Crown and the Huguenots. It was a religious conflict, in which the Protestants were beaten. But the massacre had unforeseen results, which changed the character of the struggle.

(1) Abroad, it proved for a time an immense accession of strength to the forces of Catholicism. The French Crown was committed to the cause of Philip II, and became his most powerful ally. Well might the Courts of Madrid and

¹ Ranke, i. 470–5.

² *Ib.*, i. 442 sqq., 500 sqq., 519 sqq.; ii. 46 sq., 182 sqq.; G. W. Kitchin, *Hist. Fr.* ii. 314 sqq.; *C.M.H.*, iii. 1 sqq. and Map 19; E. Armstrong, *The French Wars of Religion*; and Pastor, vol. xix cc xiii, xiv.

³ *Ch.* vii. § 6.

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Rome¹ receive the news with triumph. Elizabeth of England avoided breaking with Charles IX. The Protestants of the Low Countries continued their advances towards him. William, Prince of Orange, caused him to be proclaimed "Protector of the Liberties of the Netherlands." Louis of Nassau made interest for him with the Electors of the Empire. Europe, for fear of Philip II, accepted Henry, then Duke of Anjou and afterwards King, for the vacant throne of Poland, 1573-4; and Francis, Duke of Alençon and afterwards of Anjou, his younger brother, as the future consort of Elizabeth.

(2) But at home Charles IX, 1560-†74, found himself unequal to maintaining this ascendancy. It was hollow and momentary. He was deeply compromised by the massacre. For the Huguenots broke out into a new war of defence in the centre and the south—the Fourth War. It was a "war of sieges,"² and La Rochelle and Sancerre resisted with success. A new party—called the *Politiques* or the Moderates—grew up: composed partly of Huguenots but to a larger degree of Catholics. They were headed by the four sons of Anne de Montmorency, Constable of France—François, the Marshal, Governor of Paris, and Henri (Damville), practically King of southern France, both Catholics together with Guillaume and Charles, both Huguenots. Their device was to revive the policy of Michel de l'Hôpital, and to save the national unity of France by a general toleration. The Duke of Alençon, who was already scheming, with his mother's approval, for the hand of Elizabeth and a throne in the Netherlands,³ threw himself in with them. So the policy of massacre proved a failure. The Fourth War ended with the Peace of Rochelle, June 1573. And the Huguenots, so far from being crushed, regained by the Edict of Boulogne, 6 July 1573, which followed upon it, liberty of conscience and freedom of worship in certain towns. A few months later on, 30 May 1574, Charles IX died.

(3) The Crown passed to his brother, Henry III, 1574-†89, the most depraved, the most contemptible and the last of

¹ The medal struck in Rome is in the British Museum; and the form of service used is extant in a copy in the Bodleian. Kitchin, ii. 355, n. 1.

² Armstrong, 34.

³ See ch. ix. § 3.

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the Valois. Before he could hurry back from Poland in September, the administration fell into the hands of the Queen-mother, Catherine de' Medici. Damville de Montmorency met him at the frontier and tried to secure the new King for the *Politiques*; but without effect. He would have to desert his mother and the Guises and the fame of his victories over the Huguenots at Jarnac and Moncontour, 1569. In his first proclamation, Henry announced extreme measures: and the contest was renewed in the Fifth War. It broke out in the old quarters, of the south and west. But it is of importance chiefly because it brought out the weakness of the Huguenots and the formidable growth of the *Politiques*, and saw the first beginnings of the League, the Protestants and the *Politiques*. Henri (the younger) Condé, the leader of the one party joined with the Montmorencies, the Duke of Alençon and Henry of Navarre, the chief supports of the other. The Court felt itself powerless, and Catherine concluded with them, April 1576, another hollow peace—"Le Paix de Monsieur (*sc.* Alençon)." It was "the high-water mark of Huguenot success"¹ and a complete disavowal of the policy which had dictated the Massacre of St Bartholomew. The leaders of the *Politiques* were bought off. The Huguenots once more were confirmed in their liberties. But Protestants and Court now sank into the background; the former being merged in the *Politiques*, and the King reduced to the necessity of maintaining a jealous alliance with one section of his subjects—the Catholic League. Formed in Picardy, June 1576, it had Henry Duke of Guise, †1588, at its head. Its strength lay in Paris, with northern and central France. And its policy was religious unity at the expense of national dismemberment;² for it leaned for support upon Spain. Slowly but steadily, however, the *Politiques* increased in power, as the champions of a reinvigorated monarchy and of united resistance to the foreigner. The whole character of the struggle changed; and, whereas hitherto religious and family interests prevailed, they now gave way to the supreme claim of national consolidation.

We thus enter upon the second period of the Wars of Religion, best described as Wars of the League, 1576-98.

¹ Armstrong, 36.

² *Ib.*, 47.

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§ 5. A steady Catholic reaction had already set in before the Peace of Monsieur. In the year 1564 the Jesuits had been admitted to the privilege of teaching in France. Thanks to the patronage of the House of Lorraine, they made rapid progress. Their efforts were well seconded by the Capuchins, who made their entry in 1574, and spread their influence far and wide under the special protection of the Queen-mother. These movements roused a new zeal in the secular clergy. They began to clamour for the adoption of the Tridentine decrees, and even for the abolition of the *Concordat*¹ to which, as royal nominees, most of them owed their benefices. Accordingly, in 1580, a Venetian writer asserts that the number of Protestants had diminished by seventy per cent, and that the mass of the people had again become decidedly Catholic. Thus being the temper of the times, the Peace of Monsieur, in granting such exceptionally favourable terms to the Huguenots, provoked the opposition to take political shape. The answer was the Catholic League. It was a powerful association "of the Catholic *noblesse*, supported by clergy and populace and opposed to the confederacy of the Huguenot princes who were helped by the moderate party and the burghers of the South."² Its purpose was the extinction of heresy and the maintenance of the Faith at any price, even at the cost of loyalty to the Crown. Its motto was "Une foi, une loi, un roi"—and in this significant order. When therefore the Estates met at Blois, 1576, in answer to demands for administrative reforms made by the confederates, they parted after results very unexpected, because the Guises had packed the assembly.³ The vacillating King, glad to be rid of those who would limit his powers and reform his Court, took advantage of the Catholic majority in the Estates to recall all that he had granted to the Huguenots. Then, partly because his sympathies were with the Catholics but really in order to prevent the choice of any other leader but himself, he placed himself at the head of the League. Its fanatics took him at his word; and, though the third order of the Estates, under the leadership of John Bodin of Anjou, resisted and withheld the necessary funds, the two other orders voted for war again.

¹ For the reasons, see Jervia, *Hist. Ch. Fr.*, i. 175 sqq.

² Kitchin, ii. 370.

³ Armstrong, 52.

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The Sixth War then broke out, before the Estates had separated. It lasted only a few months, March to September 1577; for the King himself put an end to it by his Peace of Bergerac, 17 September. In this, for fear of finding himself in the hands of the Guises, he gave back to the Huguenots what they had been granted by the Peace of Monsieur. "It was the most important of the numerous religious treaties,"¹ and became the basis of the final settlement made by the Edict of Nantes. The Seventh, or "Lovers' War,"² February to November 1580, only for a short time disturbed these concessions, which were renewed by the Peace of Fleix, 26 November. For seven years, 1577-84, the country enjoyed comparative peace. The toleration conceded by the Peace of Bergerac enabled the two religions to live side by side for a time. During the interval, the Court feebly tried to take up the traditional policy of hostility to Spain; for, after Philip II had annexed Portugal, 1582, Catherine laid pretensions to its throne, but the French fleet was defeated off the Azores. At the same time, Francis, Duke of Anjou, set himself to obtain a throne in the Netherlands, 1581-3, and to strengthen himself in it by the hand of Elizabeth. But 10 June 1584 he died. It was the most important thing he ever did, for his death raised the question of the succession. Henry of Navarre, a Calvinist, became heir to the throne; and Catholic France became thoroughly alarmed.

§ 6. There followed the Eighth and last War, 1584-98. It was really a war for the possession of the throne and the consolidation of France. In each of its three phases, a step was taken towards deciding upon the future occupant of the throne, and the policy by which he should be guided. By the War of the three Henries, 1585-9, it became clear that the House of Valois could not keep the throne nor the House of Guise acquire it. France was not to become either Spanish, or exclusively Catholic, after the manner of Spain. During the next four years, 1589-93, the struggle between Henry IV and the League convinced the Bourbon Prince

¹ R. Lodge, *Modern Europe*, 122.

² "La guerre des amoureux", so called because it was provoked by the gallants of the petty Court of Navarre, who wanted to avenge themselves on Henry III for setting afloat a scandalous tale against his sister, Margaret of Valois, in order to sow discord between her and her husband, Henry of Navarre. Kitchin, II 374

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that he could not reign except as a Catholic. After his conversion, 1593-8, he still had to secure his throne against the remaining nobles of the League and their ally the King of Spain.

§ 7. The phase of 1584-9 began with bitter animosities roused by the prospect of a heretic king among French Catholics, and especially among the Guises. They had no love for the last of the Valois. Catholic as he was, Henry III could not be trusted by Catholics. He had offended the great nobles by the promotion of his favourites, the Dukes of Joyeuse and Épernon. The Guises were as loud in their demands for better government as the *Politiques*. But, whatever hopes might be entertained of better things from the heir-presumptive Henry of Navarre, the Leaguers were determined that he must not reign. By political pamphlets,¹ by intrigue, by war, they would block the way. The Jesuits broached their new theories of sovereignty² which founded it not upon hereditary right but upon the sanction of the Church. In a country like France, where the mass of the people were Catholic, this was easily represented as identical with the will of the people. It was the mission of the League of Paris,³ at first by its preachers and afterwards by the Sixteen,⁴ set up December 1584, to propagate this tenet, which justified rebellion and, in the end, led up to regicide.⁵ What the people bestowed, it may take away. But the Guises acquired antiquarian as well as popular support. The *Stemmata* was put out in their interest to make out their claim to the throne on its next vacancy, as the descendants of the Carolingians. At the same time they had recourse to intrigue. Philip II had a personal interest in opposing the establishment of a Protestant power in France. For the trouble which the Duke of Alençon had caused him in the Netherlands he saw his way to avenge himself by means of the fanatical party; and, perhaps, to secure the succession for his own house. The Duke of Parma was already making headway in the Netherlands. The Grand Armada was preparing to descend on England. If he seized this opportunity for

¹ Armstrong, 54.

² Ranke, ii. 7 sqq.; Kitchin, ii. 380 sq.; Armstrong, 63 sq.

³ Armstrong, 57.

⁴ *Ib.*, 66.

⁵ As in the case of Johannes Mariana, †1624, and his approval of the murder of Henry III by Jacques Clement. Mirbt⁴, No. 507.

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securing France as well, Philip might feel that his life's work would be accomplished. He would have effected the complete overthrow of Protestantism in Western Europe, and its submission to his rule. So, at the instigation of Mendoza, whom he had sent to Paris to co-operate with the League, the Pact of Joinville, January 1585, was made between the Guisces and the recently-formed League of Paris on the one side and Philip on the other. By this treaty Philip undertook to provide fifty thousand crowns a month and troops as well, until Protestantism was destroyed. The Leaguers, under Henry Duke of Guise, and his two brothers, Charles Duke of Mayenne, †1611, and Louis Cardinal of Guise, †1588, agreed on their part to cede the kingdoms of Navarre and Béarn to Philip as the price of his assistance, to extirpate Protestantism, and to exclude Henry of Navarre from the throne. It was to be given not at once to Guise but, by a clever expedient, to the old Cardinal Bourbon, †1590, the uncle of Henry of Navarre.

Thus a King of France found himself superseded by subjects of his own religion, who presumed to arrange the succession to the Crown and to treat independently with foreign powers. Had Henry III been a man of any spirit and foresight, he would have allied himself with Henry of Navarre, and the still loyal Catholics. He would have tried to win their confidence and support. He would have held up the Leaguers to infamy for their unpatriotic conduct in thus subjecting themselves to Spain. But he did not. He hated the Huguenots for their politics, their religion and their morals. So he signed the Treaty of Nemours, 5 July 1585, with a subject, the Duke of Guise; revoking all privileges hitherto granted to the Huguenots; and sought to take the League under his own direction.

The result was the War of the three Henries, 1585-8; the King of France, the King of Navarre, and the "King of Paris." They took the field with three independent armies. Navarre and Guise both won their victories; the former over Joyeuse at Coutras, October 1587—the first Huguenot victory—and the latter over the German auxiliaries, 26 October 1587, whom he drove out of the realm with terrible loss. The reigning King alone suffered in reputation. He had made terms with these foreign invaders whom Guise

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afterwards cut to pieces. Paris invited the Duke, who was now its hero, to enter the city; and, when the King forbade it, he found himself powerless in his own capital. On 9 May 1588 the Duke entered the city, while the mob barricaded the royal troops in the streets. Henry III took to flight. Then, after negotiating the Edict of Union, 10 July, with the faction of Guise, which established the Tridentine decrees and gave the supreme command against the Huguenots to the Duke, the King summoned the Estates to Blois in October. They were packed by the Duke, who was now all-powerful. They insisted on the complete suppression of the Huguenots; proceeded to cut down the royal revenues; and demanded the dismissal of the royal favourites. In order to rid himself of this tyranny, Henry took a desperate step. He invited the Duke of Guise to a conference; and had him assassinated, 23 December: and, next day, his brother Charles, Cardinal of Guise, suffered the same fate. "Ah! qu'il est grand," exclaimed Henry to his mother, as she lay on her death-bed—for Catherine de' Medici died 5 January 1589—"Je n'ai plus de compagnon! Le Roi de Paris est mort!" "Dieu veuille," she replied, "que vous ne soyez pas devenu le Roi de rien du tout!" That was, in fact, the situation. For, when open war followed between the King and the League, under its new leader the Duke of Mayenne, Paris threw off its allegiance; and the King, at the lowest ebb of his fortunes and without resources, was forced to make terms with Henry of Navarre and the *Politiques*. Otherwise, he was a King without a Kingdom. In April 1589 the reconciliation took place, at Plessis les Tours, on the Loire. With an army of forty-two thousand men the two Kings marched upon Paris, and proceeded to invest it. But Henry III never re-entered his capital. On 1 August 1589, Jacques Clement, a fanatical friar, stabbed him mortally in the camp at St Cloud. Thus the War of the three Henries came to an end with the death of two. Henry of Navarre, the survivor, became the first Bourbon King of France. But, as yet, he was a Calvinist. He had to secure the confidence of his subjects; and then to reckon with the League and with Spain.

§ 8. From 1589-93, Henry IV and the League were engaged in contest for possession of the throne. Henry

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assumed, at once, the royal title; but his position was one of extreme difficulty. In a declaration of 4 August 1589 he undertook to submit to the decision of a General Council to be summoned within six months; and meanwhile to grant toleration to both sides. This moved the extremists of either party to break away from his allegiance, and left none but moderates in his camp. With their aid, he had to conquer his kingdom before he could reign. But, fortunately, divisions began to appear among his opponents: between the League, for instance, and its leader, the Duke of Mayenne. "He was no demagogue," like his elder brother; "he had many of the feelings of the noble class, and disliked the *Sixteen* and its democracy."¹ For a time, however, they held together; and the Leaguers proclaimed as King the Cardinal Bourbon, who took the style of Charles X, with Mayenne as Lieutenant-General of the realm. Mayenne thus became the real ruler of Catholic France; and Henry IV retired into Normandy, to co-operate with the forces which Elizabeth sent to his aid. He defeated Mayenne at Arques, 2 September 1589 and again at Ivry, March 1590; and then laid siege to Paris. In May 1590, Charles X died, a captive in Henry's hands. The Duke of Mayenne, who had really been the head of the party, now aimed at the throne for himself. But this was acceptable neither to the League, which was now fanatically Spanish, nor to the King of Spain. The Duke of Parma intervened to raise the siege of Paris, September 1590; but the *Sixteen* set up a reign of terror within the city, and drove over not only *Politiques* but Leaguers to the number of ten thousand on to the side of the King. The Duke of Mayenne had himself to step in for the suppression of its excesses. He hanged four of the *Sixteen*, and so put an end to the revolution. Paris passed from priest and populace in control to burgher and lawyer: only waiting for the conversion of Henry IV.² Meanwhile, Mayenne had to hurry away for the relief of Rouen which was being besieged by Henry, November 1591. Once more the Duke of Parma intervened. He came to the aid of Mayenne, and raised the siege. But he received a mortal wound, and died, on his return to the Netherlands, 3 December 1592.

¹ Armstrong, 72.

² Ranke, II. 50.

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Everyone was now tired of the War. Mayenne, on his return to Paris, was pressed, January 1593, to summon the States-General, and so to decide who should be the Catholic King. Philip desired the Crown for his daughter Isabella, who was grand-daughter of Henry II on her mother's side. He hoped thus to compensate himself for the loss of his best general, the Duke of Parma; and he further proposed through his ambassador, the Duke de Feria, that she should marry her second cousin the Archduke Ernest¹ of Austria, now Viceroy of the Netherlands. The Hapsburgs would thus acquire, as a set-off against their losses in England and the Netherlands, a prize so great as the Crown of France. But it was too much to ask. The national spirit revolted at the idea of a foreign King.² Philip then proposed for her husband Charles, †1640, the son of the murdered Duke of Guise. But Mayenne refused to advance his nephew to a dignity which he coveted for himself. These divisions ruined the League. The moment had come for Henry IV to declare himself a convert. Nor did it cost him much. He had no religion but the cause of France. Accordingly, he repudiated the action of the Estates of the League. On 17 May 1593 he announced his intention openly; and, 25 July, was received into the Catholic Church by the Archbishop of Bourges.³ A strong reaction against Spanish influence set in at once. All loyal Frenchmen rallied to the standard of the legitimate King. He entered Paris in triumph, March 1594, and granted full pardon to the Leaguers. Then, as he stood on a balcony of the Louvre to say good-bye to the Spaniards: "Bon voyage," he wished them, "mais n'y revenez plus."

§ 9. The Wars of Religion were over; but the King had

¹ The Archduke Ernest, †1595, was the second son of the Emperor Maximilian II, 1564-†76. Isabella afterwards married his younger brother Albert, †1621, and they became sovereigns of the Netherlands. See above, § 3.

² The *Parlement* declared in reply that the Estates could only elect a Catholic King of French blood, according to the laws of the realm, and also insisted on the Salic law, 28 June 1593. Kitchin, II. 430, Armstrong, 81.

³ "Henry had dealt throughout not with the high Catholic clergy, with their unpatriotic and ultramontane leaning on Spain, but with the royalist national bishops, who cherished the thought of a Gallican Church with its independent life and liberties." Kitchin, II. 421; and Armstrong, 81.

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still to deal, 1593-8, with the great lords and the King of Spain. Henry was master of Paris; and the influence of the League gradually became extinct. He made terms with the papal Legate; and, with little difficulty obtained absolution from Clement VIII, 17 September 1595, who was only too glad to secure in the Catholic King of France a counterpoise to the long preponderance of Spain. While the negotiations¹ for his recognition by the Pope were going on, Henry, secure of their issue, declared war against Spain, 17 January 1595. It did not last long: for Philip was nearing the end of his resources and of his life. The Spaniards invaded the country from the north, from Franche-Comté and from the south. There was hard fighting, but exhaustion on both sides. The Duke of Mayenne submitted in 1596; and the last to come in was his first-cousin-once-removed, Philip Emmanuel, Duke of Mercœur, †1602, upon the conquest of Brittany, 1598. Meanwhile, Henry had negotiated for his recognition in province and town by the help of Maximilian of Bethune, Duke of Sully; who also found money, as Minister of Finance, to buy off the Houses of Lorraine and Guise as well as the favourites of the Valois, such as Henry, Duke of Joyeuse, made a Marshal of France. The Peace of Vervins, 2 May 1598, revived the settlement made at Cateau-Cambrésis forty years before, and Philip died four months after it, 13 September 1598. France regained its ancient boundaries and a stable government. The peace was naturally accompanied by the Edict of Nantes,² 13 April 1598; and by this, while the Catholic Church recovered its supremacy and its revenues, the Huguenots were confirmed in the privileges granted to them by the Peace of Bergerac, 1577. In the rest of Europe, the principle which ruled the mind of the sixteenth century was that every sovereign should be free to choose and maintain one religion and one only for his subjects. The Edict of Nantes proceeds on another principle, that of toleration. It adopts the line of the Chancellor l'Hôpital and the *Politiques*, and establishes freedom for two religions to exist and to worship side by side.

§ 10. Looking at the general results of the Wars of Religion in France, they secured for that country, first, the triumph of the Crown over the nobles; second, the enjoy-

¹ Ranke, ii. 52 *sqq.*; Kitchin, ii. 418, 428.

² Jervis, i. 205 *sqq.*

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ment of religious toleration; and, third, the rehabilitation of its power as a rival to that of Spain. In their bearing upon the Counter-Reformation, they issued in the re-creation of Catholic France.¹ "The ruling power in France, now strong in itself and firmly seated, was again become Catholic." Western Europe was saved from what, twenty years before, seemed a possible contingency—a Protestant League headed by Elizabeth and supported by Scandinavia, the whole of the Netherlands and a Protestant France. On the contrary, a "new central point for Catholicism was formed in that country." Further, if the Catholic Revival was saved from this danger, it also benefited in another way. Between "two great sovereignties each jealous of the other and both Catholic,"² the Pope assumed a position of far more perfect independence than his predecessors had for a long time found it possible to attain. In France itself, the numbers and influence of the Huguenots, now that they were, as they complained, deserted by their leaders and relieved from the need of self-defence, rapidly declined. The Church proportionately gained: and true religion revived. "During the first quarter of the seventeenth century, France was thoroughly penetrated by the spirit of religious enterprise. Colleges, schools, hospitals, missions at home and abroad, congregations for the systematic training of the clergy, diocesan seminaries, the reform of many monastic orders and conventual houses, societies devoted to the education of the young, to the relief of the poor, to the support and consolation of the aged, to the visitation of prisoners, to the redemption of captives—such are some of the undertakings characteristic of the times"³

¹ Armstrong, 83.

² Ranke, ii. 59

³ Jervis, i. 211.

CHAPTER XI

THE COURSE OF THE REACTION, 1572-98: (III) THE BRITISH ISLES; (IV) THE BALTIC LANDS; (V) SWITZERLAND AND SAVOY

III. THE BRITISH ISLES¹

THE British Isles must next occupy our attention, for the Catholic Revival which sought to overrun Western Europe from Rome and Spain was decisively affected by the course of events in our own country. No sooner had Elizabeth secured her throne and settled the religion of her realm, than she had to encounter the forces of the reaction. In 1568 two events occurred which provided it with bases of operation at or near home. Mary Queen of Scots, on 13 May, took refuge with her cousin; and William Allen,² 1532-†94, founded the seminary at Douai.

§ 1. Hitherto the Roman party had retired or conformed, but maintained its loyalty. But after "that roaring bull" of 1570, the English Roman Catholics fell into two quite distinct parties. All absented themselves from church, in deference to the commands of Pope Pius V. But, while the majority, among whom may be reckoned the Jesuit, Edmund Campion, 1540-†81, and most of the seminary priests were loyal, there was a minority, who went all lengths with the bull and thought it a religious duty to refuse obedience to a heretic Queen. Allen, the leader of the seminarists, Agazzari, the Superior of the English College at Rome (founded 1579), and Robert Parsons, 1546-†1610, the head of the Jesuit mission to England, 1580, directed the extreme party. Allen was the heart and soul of the movement. Its earlier stages were purely religious;

¹ Ranke, *Popes*, i. 455 sqq., 512 sqq.; *England*, i. 284 sqq.; Pastor, vol. xix. cc. x.-xii.

² *Cath. Enc.*, i. 322. Like Newman, the other convert who became a Cardinal, he was a Fellow of Oriel: and both are commemorated by statues on the part of Oriel College, built by the munificence of Cecil Rhodes.

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and most of its emissaries aimed simply at strengthening the Roman Catholics of England against the temptations to conformity. Not till 1582 did Allen take part in political intrigue. When the Jesuit mission landed in 1581, they brought with them a statement from Gregory XIII that no Catholic was expected, or required to act upon the bull of Pius V under present circumstances.¹

§ 2. But meanwhile the captive Queen of Scots became the centre of plots against the throne and life of Queen Elizabeth. The religious war led by the seminarists was accompanied by a war of political intrigue on the part of discontented Roman Catholics who, naturally preferring a Queen of their own religion and one with a hereditary title to one with a purely parliamentary title,² set to work first for her liberation and then to procure her accession to the throne. The seminarists were not wholly alien to these designs. Most of them, indeed, confined themselves to their religious enterprise. But some took part in intrigue. Elizabeth, however, felt herself justified by the bull in treating all Roman Catholics constructively, and by events in treating many actually, as traitors: though a large number suffered upon evidence which would now simply be dismissed as insufficient. Such, for example, was the case with Cuthbert Mayne, †1577; who was condemned to death for treason under the Act of 1571, but was really a martyr for his religion. The Northern Rebellion of 1569 and the Ridolfi plot of 1571, in which Norfolk and the Roman Catholic nobility were implicated with Philip II and the Pope, aimed definitely at the life of Elizabeth as well as at the overthrow of her Government. But they were unsuccessful; partly because of the vigilance of Sir William Cecil, 1520-†98, the Queen's chief minister, but also because of Philip's half-hearted support.

§ 3. The truth is that, Elizabeth and Philip, from the beginning of their reigns, were united by the bonds of a common interest, which only gave way slowly to the rivalries in religion and commerce between their subjects. It was Philip's aim to detach England from France. The possible union of the two crowns on the head of Mary Queen of

¹ Declaration of 14 April 1580: Pastor, xix. 390.

² Elizabeth's title rested on 35 Henry VIII, c. i.; and 1 Eliz., c. 3.

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Scots, would have shut off Spain from the Low Countries. Elizabeth's policy, in turn, was based upon the recognition of the jealousy between France and Spain. So long as she could foster it and so play off the one against the other, the immediate danger from the Roman Catholics at home who leaned upon Mary Stuart and the support of France was negligible; while equally remote was the chance of a religious war with Spain. But, about 1577, the position of affairs changed; for, in this year, Mary herself turned for help to Spain and, in order to obtain it, disinherited her son, afterwards James I, and made Philip her heir. At the same time, the Wars of the League occupied the entire attention and resources of France. England and Spain were thus set free to fight out the mortal conflict, which Cecil had long foreseen. For a time, the two sovereigns went no further than to connive at the injuries inflicted by their subjects upon each other. Sir Francis Drake, 1540-1596, sailed on his great expedition, 1578-81, with the approbation of the Queen, and she knighted him on his return. A religious organisation, with the Pope at its head, sprang up abroad: but Philip was careful not to display too much open sympathy with it. The Guises in France and the Catholics of Spain made their influence felt in England, Scotland and Ireland. In 1581, the Jesuit mission under Parsons and Campion landed in England. In 1579, Esmé Stuart, Count d'Aubigny and first Duke of Lennox, 1542-1583, an agent of the Guises, was sent to restore French influence and Catholicism in Scotland; and about the same time Dr Nicholas Sanders, 1530-1581, with a following of Italian bandits, was dispatched to Ireland as papal nuncio to put fresh life into the recent insurrections there. But Philip still hung back. He disliked the project of the Guises in Scotland. He doled out only a few men-at-arms to serve in Ireland. To a conspiracy in which Allen, Parsons, Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, the Duke of Guise, with others, including two English gentlemen, Edward Arden and Francis Throckmorton, were all concerned for invading England and placing the Queen of Scots upon the throne, 1581-4, he offered only reluctant support which came too late. Elizabeth, on her side, hesitated between policy and open war in the same way, irritating and occupying Philip by supporting the Duke of Anjou in

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the Netherlands,¹ 1581-3, and penuriously haggling over the price of assistance to the Huguenots in France.

§ 4. But, at last, in 1585, the princes could no longer restrain their subjects, nor control the course of events, and open war broke out. Upon the arrest of Francis Throckmorton, November 1583, Elizabeth understood the extent of the European conspiracy against her. She dismissed Mendoza, January 1584, and diplomatic relations ceased with Spain. She sent a force to oppose the Duke of Parma in the Netherlands. Drake plundered Vigo on the north-west coast of Spain, and sacked three cities of the Spanish Indies—San Domingo, Cartagena, and Santiago, September–November 1585. Then took place the conspiracy connected with the name of Anthony Babington, 1586, once a page of Mary Queen of Scots, of which she was aware and to which she fell a victim. Her execution, 18 February 1587, brought the plans of Philip II and Sixtus V to maturity, and forced them into alliance. The Pope concluded a formal treaty with the King of Spain: and Philip set about the preparation of the Armada with all the resources of his kingdom. He would assert his claims to the English throne, which the Queen of Scots had bequeathed to him. He would put an end to the heretics who were the terror of the Spanish Main. But his fleet was badly damaged, 29 July 1588, at the battle of Gravelines, and afterwards, August–September, dispersed by the winds. The power of Spain lay in ruins. But Elizabeth continued the war: and the Spanish marine fell a prey to Dutch and English who now divided the command of the sea between them. They seized upon Philip's harbours, such as Cadiz, in 1596; and raided his colonies, which were now defenceless—Valparaiso, 1593-4, and Puerto Rico, 1598. Philip retaliated by co-operating with a fresh insurrection in Ireland; but it ended by the capitulation of the Spaniards besieged in Kinsale, 2 January 1602.

Thus England was lost to the Counter-Reformation. At the end of her reign Elizabeth headed the Protestant Alliance in Europe; and stood by the King of France who led the European coalition against the Hapsburgs and Rome.

¹ See above, ch. ix § 3.

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IV. THE BALTIC LANDS

The lands bordering upon the Baltic,¹ 1572-98, may occupy our attention next, for Philip II had designs upon Sweden, and the Jesuits on Poland.² The future of both countries, in respect of the Catholic Revival, was decided by the year of his death.

§ 5. At the opening of the sixteenth century, the ruling powers of the Baltic³ were, on the West and North, Denmark, which, until the dissolution of the Union of Calmar, 1397-1521, held sway over Norway and Sweden; on the South, though Poland had a small seaboard, at the mouth of the Vistula, in Polish, or Western, Prussia, Teutonic powers were in possession—the now Germanised lands of Mecklenburg and Pomerania, and the mercantile corporation called the Hanseatic League; while the East belonged to that other great Teutonic corporation, the Military Orders of Christ and St Mary. The former was known as the Order of the Teutonic Knights,⁴ founded in 1199: whose Grand Master, from 1309-1525, had his residence at Marienburg in Western or Polish Prussia. The latter was known as the Order of the Sword,⁵ founded in 1202, with territories extending round the Gulf of Riga, over Curland, Livonia and Esthonia. Thus almost the whole of the Baltic coast was held by Teutonic powers: for the Western Church, the Western world, and the German nation over against both heathendom and the Orthodox Church of the East, the Slav and the non-Aryan races of the north. But changes, political and religious, set in early in the century which completely altered the face of affairs by 1572.

Thus (1) Denmark lost Sweden in 1524, and became Protestant,⁶ 1536, under Christian III, 1533-†59. Though he recognised the independence of Sweden by the treaty of Brömsebro, 1541, his son Frederick II, 1559-†88, continued

¹ Ranke, ii. 137 *sqq.*

² A. F. Pollard, *The Jesuits in Poland* (1892).

³ Spruner-Menke, Maps 66 and 69; E. A. Freeman, *Hist. Geogr.*, i. 502, and ii., Map 55; R. L. Poole, *Hist. Atlas*, Maps 47 and 51. For the ecclesiastical situation, 12-18 centuries, see Heussi und Mulert, *Atlas zur Kirchengeschichte*, Map VII, i.(B).

⁴ *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 541.

⁵ *Ib.*, x. 305 *sq.*

⁶ *D.C.R.*, Nos. 131-4.

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to bear the arms of the three kingdoms. This provoked Eric XIV, 1560-8, the son of Gustavus Vasa, to war. The contest closed with the Treaty of Stettin, 1570, just after the accession of Eric's brother John, 1568-†92, to the throne. By it, Denmark renounced all claims to Sweden; but retained possession of Norway, with Jemteland, a province in the centre of the peninsula, and the three southern provinces of Sweden—Halland, Skaane and Bleking. Thus she was driven to accept the dissolution of the Union of Calmar, and deprived of her supremacy over the Baltic. But by her possession of the sounds and belts, Denmark was still able to cripple the rising commerce of her rival, Sweden.

(2) Sweden, on her side, proportionately advanced. Her progress at the expense of Denmark is the important factor in the history of the Baltic lands at this time. For, about 1572, thanks to the strong rule of Gustavus Vasa, 1523-†60, she had become the ruling power of the Baltic, possessing territory on both sides of the Gulfs of Bothnia and Finland, and holding Esthonia, since the capture of Reval, 1561, successfully against Poland.¹

(3) The third change to be noted is the growth of Poland at the expense of the Hansa and the Knights. "The Hanseatic League was, indeed, a power in these regions, but it hardly has a place on the map."² It is otherwise with the territories of the Teutonic Order. The Teutonic Knights and the Order of the Sword had amalgamated, 1237: but the sixteenth century saw the fall of both branches of the Order. Out of the fall of one of them came modern Prussia. In 1515 the two branches of the Order separated. The Prussian Knights arrayed themselves under Albert of Brandenburg as Grand Master, 1511-25; and the Livonian Knights, or Order of the Sword, ruled in Livonia under a Grand Master of their own, Walter of Plattenburg. This division led to the fall of both sections of the Order. In 1525, Albert of Brandenburg changed over from being the head of a Catholic Religious Order to the position of a Lutheran temporal prince. He married, and held the former possessions of the Order as Duke of Prussia, 1525-†68, under the suzerainty of the Polish Crown.³ A generation

¹ Poole, *Hist Atlas*, Map 51.

² Freeman, *Hist. Geogr.*, i. 494.

³ D.C.R., Nos. 91-4.

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later, Gotthard Ketteler, Grand Master of the Knights of the Sword, determined to follow Albert's example. He was led to do so by the progress of Protestantism among the brethren, and for defence against the attacks of Ivan the Terrible, 1533-†84. Ketteler, in 1551, adopted Lutheranism; and his territories were secularised and dismembered, 1558-61. Thus he kept Curland and Semigallia for himself, as a hereditary duchy under Polish suzerainty, and the rest went to the various Baltic powers; Esthonia, in particular, to Sweden, 1561. At last, all Livonia passed to Poland, 1582. This acquisition of territory from the Teutonic Orders raised Poland to rivalry with Sweden as a Baltic power; while, at the same time, by the Union of Lublin¹ 1569, Poland and Lithuania were united under Sigismund Augustus 1548-†72, the last King of the House of Jagellon.

Thus the Baltic passed under the sway on the west of the Swedes; on the east of the Poles; and on the south of the Germans. But all were Protestant—even the Poles, at that time, being predominantly of that allegiance.

(4) A fourth power—struggling like the rest, but as yet in vain, for a seaboard on the Baltic—now appears. The rise of Russia, under Ivan the Terrible, had already encroached upon the territories of the Polish Crown by driving the frontiers of Lithuania westward. The result of this collision was that a new power entered the arena of central Europe: a power which owed its Christianity to the Orthodox Eastern Church, and was thus prepared to take part with the Protestants of Poland against the Counter-Reformation there. But Ivan the Terrible and his successor Theodore, 1584-†98, were really ambitious of a foothold upon the Baltic coast. A long war ensued in which Russia, Poland and Sweden contested the possession of Livonia. The vigorous action of Stephen Báthory, King of Poland 1575-†86, compelled Ivan IV to conclude a truce which secured it to Poland in 1582; while Sweden found compensation in the acquisition of Esthonia, 1593. At last, the Peace of Teusin, 1595, between the three realms confirmed these arrangements and the extension of Russia to the Baltic attained no permanence until the beginning of the eighteenth century.

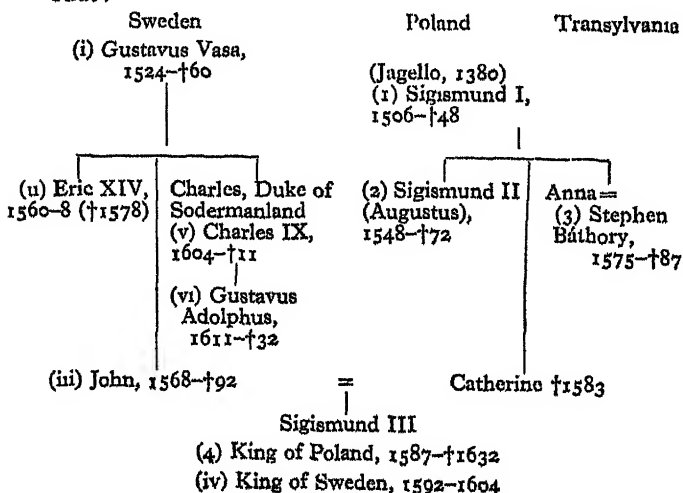
¹ Spruner-Menke, Map 70; Poole, Map 48; Freeman, i. 505.

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Then from 1572-98 the ruling states of the North were Sweden and Poland. Sweden, as Gustavus Vasa left it, was a strong and homogeneous state which, on emerging from subjection to Denmark, had turned Protestant and become a nation at the same time. Its Lutheranism was thus bound up with its national greatness. Poland, on the other hand, upon the death of Sigismund Augustus, 1572, speedily sank from the great position which it had occupied under the House of Jagellon. During his reign, Protestantism had obtained a great and almost preponderating influence both in Poland and in the vassal states of East Prussia, Curland and Livonia. When he died, the Estates decreed that the Crown should be elective, without restriction to any family; that Protestants and Roman Catholics should enjoy equal liberties; and that political power should reside with the nobility. Practically, this was to make Poland a Protestant oligarchy with a nominal head.

§ 6. The connexion of these two powers with the Counter-Reformation was due partly to the political necessities of Philip II, but also to the chance opened up to the Holy See of recovering both together through Sigismund III,¹ King of Poland 1587-†1632; who, for a time, wore the crown of Sweden as well, 1592-1604. He was the pupil of the Jesuits,

¹ Thus :—



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and a zealot for the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church. He had the cordial support of the Pope, and of the Hapsburgs both of Spain and Austria. The reaction, maintained by the arms of Philip, suffered great reverses: in the Netherlands; by the destruction of the Armada; and by the establishment of Henry IV on the throne of France. But, if Philip could secure Sweden, with the aid of Sigismund, seize the Baltic for Spanish trade, and make the ports of the North a base of operations for a fresh attack on England and the United Provinces, his disasters might yet be retrieved and the triumph of Catholicism assured. This is the attempt that we must now describe.

§ 7. Poland,¹ after the farcical interlude enacted by the Duke of Anjou, May 1573–September 1574, elected as its King Stephen Báthory, 1574–†87, a prince of Transylvania, who married Anna, sister of Sigismund Augustus, the last King of the House of Jagellon. Abroad, as we have seen, the new King maintained the greatness of that House and held his own against Russia. He himself was inclined to moderation in religion. Like Henry of Navarre, he became a Catholic to secure his Crown. "This was, indeed, the most prudent course he could pursue; for, though the Protestants in Poland outnumbered the Roman Catholics, yet the latter were by far the strongest" religious body "in Poland, and afforded the firmest basis of support; moreover, he would have the external support of the Pope, if not of Austria, while Anna would never be brought to marry a Protestant."² But Stephen, nevertheless, maintained the Protestant liberties. He loyally observed the oath which, since the resolution of the Diet of Warsaw, 6 January 1573, the King had been required to take for the maintenance of toleration; but fell in with the reaction in favour of Catholicism which surrounded him. For the Jesuits had already made a good start before his accession; and the Protestants a bad one. The Queen, the Jesuits, the nuncio Alberto Bolognetti, 1538–†85 (whom Gregory XIII made Cardinal, 1583) and the bishops, whom he drilled into concert and roused to action, stimulated Stephen Báthory actively to

¹ Ranke, i. 451 *sqq.*; ii 137 *sqq.*; Pastor, vol. xx. c. ix.; *Cath. Enc.*,
xii 191

² A. F. Pollard, *The Jesuits in Poland*, 25.

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promote the cause of Catholicism. To the King's liberality the Jesuits owed their Colleges at Riga and Dorpat in his new conquest of Livonia, 1582, as well as at Wilna and Polock in Lithuania. Livonia was very Protestant, and there was plenty of material there to work on; for the German population, which had followed the trading enterprises of the Hanseatic League and the conquests of the Knights, was completely Lutheran. To the Queen's generosity, the Jesuits were indebted for their Colleges of Pultusk in Massovia and Lublin in Little Poland; and to many nobles, who followed the royal example, for similar foundations and increasing patronage. From Braunsberg, in Western or Polish Prussia, Pultusk, Wilna, and Posen in Great Poland—the four centres which, as we have seen, the Society possessed before this reign—it spread into almost every corner of Poland and Lithuania.¹ The Jesuits looked upon the King as *pater et patronus noster*; and, by the end of his reign, they numbered over three hundred and sixty members of the Order in Poland; and possessed twelve colleges, besides residences and missions. Thus, though Stephen perpetuated the tolerant policy of his predecessor Sigismund Augustus and protected both Protestant and Orthodox to the end of his reign, "it was under him that Catholicism first acquired an essential reinstatement in Poland."² The Zamoisky faction—a party among the nobles deeply tinged with it and entrusted by the King's favour with the most important offices—secured without difficulty the election of Sigismund III as his successor; and with him the complete triumph of the Counter-Reformation in Poland.

Sigismund III,³ 1587–†1632, had been brought up by his mother, Catherine Jagellon, in the strictest orthodoxy. He was known as "the King of the Jesuits," and took the nickname as a compliment. His zeal for the interests of the Roman See led him to make them his single motive, and so to inflict the final blow upon Protestantism in Poland. Hitherto, the Jesuits had adopted only the legitimate means of missionary propaganda. But now, secure in the protection of the King, the nobles and even the town councils, they controlled the administration; and proceeded to use it for their own pur-

¹ For details, see Pollard, 27 sq.

² Ranke, ii. 140; Pollard, 31.

³ Ranke, ii. 139.

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poses. Under the influence of Peter Skarga,¹ 1536–†1612, the King's Jesuit chaplain, Sigismund resolved to confer no honours upon any but Catholics: and "Pope Clement VIII was fully justified in ascribing the progress of Catholicism in Poland more especially to this regulation."² This soon began to thin the ranks of the Protestant magnates; and the Radziwills—Christopher, George, Albert and Stanislas—came over from Calvinism. The nobles, in turn, evicted Protestants on their estates; and put in Catholic tenants instead.³ "This process was accelerated by the fact that the Jesuits had got the education of the country entirely into their hands: and great numbers of the nobles, who were now entering upon manhood, had been educated in their schools."⁴ The clergy were encouraged to bring actions at law for the recovery of ecclesiastical buildings: and, as the tribunals were filled with Catholic judges,⁵ they won their case. To appeal to the King was no use; for Sigismund's view of "the confederation," or resolution of the Diet of Warsaw, 6 January 1573, which every Polish King at his election was required on oath to observe,⁶ was a peculiar one. It bound him to accord equal rights to the rival Confessions. But the King interpreted this to mean that each party should be assisted to recover its own. In a few years, all the parish churches in the towns were got back; Dantzic only excepted.⁷ Some success was even secured with the Orthodox, for in 1595 several Orthodox bishops, under threat of exclusion from a seat and voice in the Senate, were received into the Roman Church. In 1598, a papal nuncio observed that "a short time since, it might have been feared that heresy would entirely supersede Catholicism in Poland; now Catholicism is bearing heresy to its grave."⁸ Nor was he too sanguine, nor the reason for this change far to seek: for "in 1600 the numbers of the Society of Jesuits in Poland had reached four hundred and sixty-six; and there were establishments at seventeen different places, besides the

¹ Pollard, 32; *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 34.

² Ranke, II. 140. The King of Poland had all patronage, spiritual and temporal, in his hands. Pollard, 69.

³ *Ib.*, 33.

⁵ *Ib.*, 70 sq.

⁷ Ranke, II. 142.

⁴ *Ib.*, 33, and 51 sqq.

⁶ *Ib.*, 23.

⁸ *Ib.*

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mission to the King's Court, and the staff of the Provincial who were fixed to no one spot."¹

§ 8. The tide of the Counter-Reformation meanwhile flowed over into Sweden.² In 1592, by the death of his father John, who reigned from 1568-†92, Sigismund III of Poland became King of Sweden, 1592-1604. In accordance with the ruling impulse of his life, he endeavoured to carry the Catholic Revival into that country also. Gustavus Vasa, the liberator of Sweden, had left behind him a strong and united Protestant country. The Episcopate had been reduced in authority: ³ and the monasteries had come to an end. The nobles had been won over to the new religion by being allowed a share in the spoils: while the affection of the people had been gained for it by its association with political liberty. Eric XIV, 1560-†8, who succeeded him, had none of his father's qualities, and soon showed symptoms of insanity. He was engaged in repeated quarrels with his brothers, John, Duke of Finland, and Charles, Duke of Södermanland; and, in 1568, John deposed him and reigned in his stead, 1568-†92. Duke Charles was a steady adherent of the national, political and ecclesiastical principles of his father. But the new King possessed some theological knowledge; and, being much influenced by his consort, Catherine, daughter of Sigismund I, King of Poland 1506-†48, inclined to the Catholic faith. In 1572, Stanislas Hosius, Bishop of Ermeland 1551-†79, was full of his praises. In 1576, the Cardinal sent him two Jesuits, Anthony Possevino,⁴ 1534-†1611, and another to work upon Swedish opinion. The King, desirous of uniting the two communities under a formulary like that of the *Interim*, produced his *Liturgy* or *Red Book*,⁵ by way of preparing for a resumption of the Mass; and, at the Diet of 1577, he obtained for it the adhesion of the clergy ⁶ and the lay Estates. Gregory XIII, however, objected to this

¹ Pollard, 33; and for the spread of the Society in detail between 1586-1600, see 33 sqq.

² Pastor, vol. xx. c. x.; *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 348 sqq.

³ As to the succession, see D.C.R., p. 152, n. 1 and postscript; *Report of the Lambeth Conference* (1920), p. 152; W. Bright, *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, 30 n., and *Letters*, 277 sq.

⁴ Ranke, i. 451 sq.; Pollard, 76.

⁵ See it in E. E. Yelverton, *The Mass in Sweden*, 65 sqq. (*H.B.S.*, lvi., 1920).

⁶ *Ib.*, 69.

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trimming and concessionary policy; and sent Possevino to remonstrate in favour of a more open procedure. John complied; but very soon his efforts began to cool. He was disappointed in the political expectations, which he had founded on the influence of Rome, for concluding a peace satisfactory to Sweden in 1582. Possevino negotiated it; and Poland was the real gainer, not Sweden nor Russia. Then the Queen died in 1583. He felt himself more or less compensated for these losses, by the election of his son and heir Sigismund to the throne of Poland in 1587. But at home his reaction had failed. He clung to his *Red Book*;¹ but, like all compromises in religion, it met with violent resistance. His brother Charles put himself at the head of national and Protestant hostility towards the innovators; and the Prince Sigismund, in 1587, was forced to swear to engagements in the interests of Protestantism—as that nothing should be changed in the ceremonies of Protestant worship and that he would promote no one who was not a Protestant, nor make any man's religion a cause for love or hate towards him. When therefore King John died, not only had his attempt at reaction failed, but an embittered and suspicious party had been created, under the leadership of a prince of the royal house, pledged to the policy of Gustavus the liberator.

In July 1593, Sigismund III departed for his hereditary dominions,² surrounded by a retinue of Roman Catholics, with Malaspina, as papal nuncio, at his side; determined, in spite of his oaths, to re-establish the Catholic religion in his native land. But he appeared in Sweden as a foreigner and an apostate: the representative of the interests of Poland, which was the rival of Sweden on the Baltic and of Rome, that enemy of the faith which had made Sweden great. Upon the death of John, Lutheranism had been re-introduced at a kind of mixed clerical and lay assembly at Uppsala, and a covenant entered into for its maintenance, March 1593. The *Confession of Augsburg* was there proclaimed anew; the *Red Book* repudiated, as held to be superstitious and very like the popish Mass;³ ceremonial further reduced; and a declaration drawn up that no heresy, popish or Calvinistic,

¹ Second edition, in 1588; Yelverton, 73.

² Ranke, ii. 145 *seq.*

³ Yelverton, 74.

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would be tolerated in the kingdom. Appointments to public offices were to be made in the same spirit; and by two hundred and thirty-three votes to thirty-eight, the clergy placed at their head, as Archbishop of Uppsala, 1593-†9, Abraham Angermannus, a zealous opponent of the *Red Book*¹ and the most ardent Lutheran they could find. Thus Protestantism, as a consequence of John's reactionary policy, took root again in a more decided form. At the same time, general discontent at the decline of Sweden, its dissensions and the check to Swedish commerce and conquest under Eric and John, powerfully aided the national party headed by Duke Charles.

When therefore Sigismund III arrived in Sweden, he found himself isolated and helpless. At Uppsala, the Swedes demanded that the decrees of their Council should be ratified, and that nothing but the teaching of the *Confession of Augsburg* should be given in church or school; and they refused homage until the King should comply. Sigismund assented under protest, and was crowned 1594. But this only served to excite the suspicion of the Estates, who were as bigoted in their determination to confine all office to Protestants as the King was to bestow it exclusively on Catholics. In 1595, the Diet of Söderköping put down Catholic worship where the King had revived it, and destroyed the last surviving monastery at Wadstena. Archbishop Angermannus then conducted a visitation, and caused all recusants to be beaten with rods by the robust young students in his train. Altars and relics were thrown down; and what was tolerated as indifferent in 1593 was entirely abolished in 1597. All this was done, in express opposition to the King and under the special patronage of Duke Charles, who, at the Diet, even caused a resolution to be passed that no royal rescript should take effect until it had been confirmed by the home government. Charles, in fact, was already King. But his preponderance raised the jealousy of some of the nobles; and the fanaticism of some of his Protestant supporters alienated the populace, who now found every outward association of religion done away. A party arose for the King. In Finland, the Governor maintained his standard; and Sigismund set out, for the second time,

¹ Yelverton, 67.

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in the summer of 1598, to take possession of his hereditary kingdom

Suddenly, the interests at stake between Sigismund and Charles widened out into issues of European magnitude.¹ If Philip could secure a haven on the Scandinavian coast, he might still hope to reduce England and Holland. If the Catholics could establish themselves in Finland and round the shores of the Baltic, they might make a successful attack on the Russian Empire and subjugate the dominions of Electoral Brandenburg. Vast hopes hung upon Sigismund's success, in which Philip and the Austrian Hapsburgs, the Pope and the Catholic Revival as a whole were supremely interested. Equally momentous considerations would move Henry IV of France, Elizabeth of England and the United Provinces to look for the success of Duke Charles with anxiety. "We must acknowledge that this was one of those crises that affect the history of the world." Everything depended on the character of the two leaders. Charles was his own adviser; daring, resolute and in actual possession. Sigismund, dependent on others, good-natured but no soldier, reduced to the necessity of doing battle for a kingdom which was his by right but all against him in fact. The armies met at Stangebro, near Linköping, in the province of East Gothland; and Sigismund suffered a total defeat, 1598. He retired to Poland; and, though he never gave up his claim to Sweden, he never succeeded in establishing it. In 1599, he was formally deposed, and Charles was appointed Regent. In 1604 he received the Crown as Charles IX, 1604-†111; and it was declared hereditary in his descendants. He became the second founder of the Swedish monarchy on a Protestant basis. His son, Gustavus Adolphus, 1611-†32, carried its power into the heart of Europe.

§ 9. Poland, on Sigismund's return, showed signs of discontent: and the Catholic Revival, which he had headed there, was temporarily endangered.

At first, Sigismund tried to compensate himself for the loss of Sweden, by attempts on Russia.² They involved him in wars with Charles IX and brought Russia to the verge of ruin, until a patriotic party arose with the House of

¹ Ranko, ii 151 sqq

² *Ib.*, 153.

³ *Ib.*, 154 sqq.; and my *Churches of Eastern Christendom*, 302 sqq

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Romanoff, 1613. Sigismund's measures involved assistance to the papal and Jesuit purpose of securing Russia for the Roman Church; and all turned at first on the False Demetrius, 1605. But the attempt on Russia, like the attempt on Sweden, came to nothing; and twice the unfortunate Sigismund found himself baffled.

Then there followed the price to pay; for "unsuccessful enterprises against a foreign enemy have usually the effect of awakening internal dissensions."¹ The Protestants were still numerous enough to form a powerful opposition. They were joined by a large number of Catholics who were disgusted at the Jesuit ascendancy, at its ill-success abroad, at its supposed conduct in the interest of the House of Austria, and at its disintegrating effect at home. The party was headed by the Chancellor Zamoisky, to whom Sigismund owed his throne; and nobles and Protestants met in alliance to maintain the liberties of the realm against the crown, the senate—a body dependent upon the King—and the bishops. These formed the reactionary party. After mutual recriminations, they took the extreme step of summoning the Rokosz, 1607—a sort of armed confederation of the whole body of the nobles, permitted by the Constitution, but really amounting to a "legal insurrection."² The nobles now led by Zebrzydowski (for Zamoisky was dead) and supported by the Protestants and the Orthodox, claimed the right of summoning the King and the senate before their tribunal. But the King had his supporters; and the Legate kept the bishops firm; while they, in turn, held the senate true. A league was formed in defence of the crown and religion. In October 1606, Sigismund took the bold step of dissolving the Rokosz. Next year, there followed an appeal to arms; and the royal troops were victorious at the battle of Guzow, July 1607. Zebrzydowski managed to keep the field for a time: but, in 1608, he submitted, and an amnesty was proclaimed. His defeat "gave the Catholic reaction a free hand: and henceforward, to the death of Sigismund in 1632, it pursued its course without let or hindrance. Henceforth the Protestants are a small and persecuted minority; they cease to be a considerable element in the national life; the policy of the country is entirely in the hands of the

¹ Ranke, ii. 156.

² *Ib.*, 158.

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Jesuits."¹ But their supremacy, with other and more fruitful causes of longer standing²—such as anarchy, and the indifference of peasants and dissidents to the fate of a country, which gave privilege to others and only hardship to themselves—contributed to the decline of Poland.

Thus by 1598 the result of the political and religious struggles in the Northern States of Europe issued in the triumph of Protestantism in Scandinavia, and of Roman Catholicism in Eastern Europe: but not without opposition by Protestants, Orthodox and the mercantile cities, supported by the hostility of Sweden and Russia.³ In Sweden, the triumph was accompanied by an outburst of national aggrandisement; in Poland, by a steady decline towards national disruption.

V

§ 10. Before we dismiss the world-wide activities of Philip II, we must look at his share in the Catholic Revival in Switzerland and Savoy.⁴

(1) Savoy was originally a Burgundian House, but became Italian.⁵ It owed its importance in the sixteenth century, not to its internal strength but to its geographical position between the territories of France and Spain. It was a middle State. During the Italian Wars, 1494–1559, it served as "the highway for the Kings of France in their invasions of Italy."⁶ After these wars were brought to an end by the Peace of Cateau-Cambrésis, 1559, Savoy passed under Spanish influence. It thus acquired further importance as a base from which the Catholic reaction, represented by the Dukes of Savoy who had claims on Geneva and were knit by interest to Spain, might direct its attack on that city, the citadel of Protestantism. From 1536 onwards, the French occupied the Duchy: but by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis it was restored to Philip's General, Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, 1553–180. He was anxious to recover the territories on both sides of the Lake of Geneva, which the Swiss had acquired since the rejection of his

¹ Pollard, 41.

² Ranke, II. 161; Pollard, 62 sqq.

³ Ranke, I. 509 sqq.; II. 178 sqq.

⁴ Freeman, *Hist. Geogr. Europe*, I. 277 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.*, xiii 492.

⁵ Freeman, I. 285.

⁶ *Ib.*, 96 sqq.

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father's authority over Geneva, 19 October 1530, by the Peace of St Julien.¹ But in 1564 he had to accept the treaty of Lausanne, by which he gave up all territory to the north of the lake. From this time Savoy takes on, more and more, the character of an Italian rather than a transalpine power. Emmanuel Philibert now turned to domestic affairs; and tried to repair the evils that foreign occupation had left behind. He remained true to the Hapsburg interest: but took care to give no offence to France. Savoy therefore emerged, at his death, not only as an Italian but as a stronger State. Its capital was no longer the Burgundian Chambéry, but the Italian Turin. His son and successor Charles Emmanuel I, 1580-†1630, broke out into a much more active policy. For his marriage with Catherine, daughter of Philip II, bound him to the side of Spain and the League in France; and led him to co-operate with the Counter-Reformation in Switzerland.

(2) The Catholic Revival in Switzerland² was due to several causes. Calvin died in 1564. In 1574 the religious autonomy possessed by the Swiss Cantons enabled the Jesuits—whose three provinces of Austria, Upper Germany and the Rhine covered the South and West of the Empire—to gain a footing in Lucerne and Fribourg. The life and work of St Charles Borromeo told beyond his province. His *Collegium Helveticum*³ at Milan poured its students into Switzerland. The Capuchins, whom he had dispatched thither before them, “produced a great impression on the people,” particularly in the Forest Cantons.⁴ In 1579 the Catholic Cantons concluded a treaty with the Bishop of Basel,⁵ in which they agreed not only to protect him but to bring his people back to the faith. Soon afterwards a nunciature was definitely established among them. The effect of these measures presently appeared in the Golden or Borromean League, which the Cardinal negotiated. The five Forest Cantons—Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Luzern, Zug—together with Soleure and Fribourg bound themselves “to live and die . . . in the faith,” 1586; and, in the next

¹ *D.C.R.*, No. 246.

² Pastor, vol. xx. c. iv.; *Cath. Enc.*, xiv. 363.

³ Founded 1579. Celler, *St Charles Borromée*, 143.

⁴ Ranke, i. 460 *sq*

⁵ Jacob von Wartensee, 1575-†1608.

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year, on 12 May 1587, they allied themselves with Spain. Thus, religious feeling triumphed over national attachment: and the Swiss, in large part, deserted the Confederation in order to make common cause with the Hapsburgs, who were the ancient enemies of their country. The restless and ambitious Duke of Savoy naturally threw himself in with this party of the old religion in Switzerland; and took advantage of their zeal, and of the embarrassments of Henry III of France, to seize the Marquisate of Saluzzo and to harass Geneva, which the Duke of Guise induced Henry to desert. But this forward movement received a sudden check owing to the failure of Philip's plans in other parts of Europe; and the disturbed Confederation subsided into the old equilibrium of parties upon its being included in the Peace of Vervins, 1598.

The subsequent events of 1598-1618 may as well be summarised in conclusion. The balance of parties had already been upset by the noble work of St François de Sales,¹ 1567-†1622. He was charged with the duty of converting the district of Chablais,² to the south of the Lake of Geneva, which Charles Emmanuel seized from Geneva, 1594. He was so successful as to be credited, in a papal bull, with having made seventy-two thousand converts. In 1602, he became Bishop of Geneva *in partibus*. At Lucerne, the nuncios so increased their hold that "Catholic interests in Switzerland had now generally attained to a very prosperous condition and were making quiet progress." The seizure of Saluzzo by the Duke of Savoy, with the help of the Catholic party, involved him in a long quarrel with Henry IV of France, as soon as the latter was free from domestic strife and able to turn his attention towards the securing of his frontiers and avenging himself on Spain. But in 1601, by the Peace of Lyons, he was confirmed in possession of it in exchange for territory to the west of the Rhone. Thus, though all the Duke's attempts to gain possession again of Geneva were fruitless, the passes to the south-west remained true to Spanish interests. On the south-east Hapsburg interests acquired an equal hold. Thus, in the Grisons, where the government was Protestant, the

¹ *Cath. Enc.*, vi. 220

² See Map of Savoy in 1601 in *C.M.H. Atlas*, Map 25

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inhabitants of the Valtelline, leading down from the Stelvio pass to the Lake of Como, were steadfastly Catholic. The government, it is true, drove out the Jesuits. But the people attached themselves to Milan; rallied round the Bishop of Como, their diocesan; and received with joy the students sent to them from the *Collegium Helveticum* of St Charles. It was a state of things all the more dangerous because the district became the scene of political rivalry between Venice, France and Spain. The eastern passes of the Alps were at stake. After the death of Henry IV, the French, *c.* 1612, adopted the Catholic interest which Spain, of course, had espoused before. Venice and the Protestants lost ground; and the Catholics were reassured. Their predominance was confirmed by a brutal massacre which gave to Spain the control of the Valtelline, 1620; and this was of great importance, because the Valtelline was the route of communication between Milan and the Tyrol. It kept Spanish and Austrian Hapsburgs within touch of each other.¹

¹ Cf. W. A. B. Coolidge, *The Alps in Nature and History*, 104, 186, and maps 5 and 6.

CHAPTER XII

GERMANY: FROM THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG TO THE THIRTY YEARS' WAR, 1555-1618

§ 1. We have reserved the story of the Catholic Revival in Germany¹ till the end, so as to be able to give it continuous treatment.

The main interest of European history² during the latter half of the sixteenth century centres round the success or failure of the reaction in favour of the Catholic Church. In Italy and Spain, the Church succeeded not only in holding its own but in repressing all opposition. In France, the Wars of Religion ended, by the Edict of Nantes, in a compromise; but, on the whole, France remained a Catholic power. In the Netherlands, the success of the reaction was but partial. The seven northern provinces formed themselves into a Republic under the House of Orange, and became in religion the stronghold of Calvinism; and, in politics, owing to the maritime and commercial enterprise of the Dutch, its stoutest champions. On the other hand, the Walloon provinces of the south returned to the old allegiance and the Spanish alliance. In England, the reaction failed owing to the national spirit evoked by Spanish intervention. Scotland was Calvinist; Ireland mainly Roman Catholic. But Scotland was too distant and Ireland too distracted to play any more important part in the struggle of Europe than that of a support or a make-weight to the power of England. In Sweden, again, although the Jesuits almost succeeded in converting John III, national interests proved too strong for them. His son, Sigismund III, lost them Sweden, his hereditary crown, but laid Poland, his elective throne, at their feet. So far, then, the contest had been

¹ Ranke, i. 410 *sqq.*, 418 *sqq.*, 475 *sqq.*; ii. 162 *sqq.*; A. W. Ward, *The Counter-Reformation*, cc. iv., v, *C.M.H. Atlas*, Map 28, and *C.M.H.*, III. cc. v. and xxi.; Pastor, vol. xx. cc. ii-viii., vol. xxii. cc. ii., iii.

² See R. Lodge, *Modern Europe*, 129 *sq.*, for this paragraph.

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fought out by the time of the death of Philip II, 13 September 1598. But it was finally decided by the events that took place in Germany. Up to and after that event, Germany was the starting-point of the Reformation. Germany suffered from it more terribly than any other country. The conflict was fought out and decided on German soil.

§ 2. In order to understand the conflict, it is necessary to know something about the German constitution.

(1) First, it was weak in itself. "It was the misfortune of Germany, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, that, with most of the conditions requisite for the formation of national unity, she had no really national institutions."¹

The titular head of the State was the Emperor. He was chosen by the Seven Electors; three ecclesiastical, the Archbishops of Mainz, Köln and Trier; and four lay, the Elector Palatine, the Elector of Saxony, the Elector of Brandenburg, and the King of Bohemia. In theory he was the successor of the Roman Emperors, from Augustus onwards; and, as such, the ruler of the world. More particularly, he was, as successor also of Charlemagne, the lay head of Western Christendom and the patron and protector of the Holy Roman Church. But, in point of fact, the imperial dignity was little more than a name: except when held by Princes like Charles V, whose hereditary dominions brought its then holder some adventitious resources. Whatever powers the Emperor exercised in Germany during this period—and they were considerable, though declining—he exercised in another capacity, as King of Germany. They were the rights and powers not of the Imperial Crown with which he had been invested by the Pope, but of the German Crown which he had received at Aachen. So, although called Emperor, he was really no more than King; and, further, the authority which he enjoyed as King throughout Germany compares very unfavourably with the authority of Francis I or Henry VIII. They were kings who ruled over homogeneous and united countries, with no rival power among their subjects to compare with their own.

¹ For this description, see S. R. Gardiner, *The Thirty Years' War*, c. 1, and also W. Stubbs, *Lectures on European History*, 1519-1648, pp. 37 *sqq.*

The great vassals of the Empire were all but independent Sovereigns, like the Dukes of Normandy in France of the tenth century, or the Dukes of Burgundy in France of the fifteenth. They made peace and war, they contracted league and alliance, with each other and with foreign potentates, just as they chose. They were absolute, each within his own territory. Their dependants—if they thought it worth while to try to reach the Emperor—could only reach him through them. Not national unity, but territorialism, a mild form of anarchy, ruled in Germany. It was to the interest of each Prince to combine with his fellows in order to keep the Emperor weak, so that each in turn might remain strong. This was feudalism entrenched.

The Diet owes its origin to attempts made, in the middle of the fifteenth century, to stem the tide of feudal anarchy. It met in three Houses. The first, or Electoral, House consisted of the seven, but usually six, members of the College of Electors; for the King of Bohemia had no voice in the Diet except at the election of the Emperor, and Bohemia was not included in the Circles of the Empire. The second, or House of Princes, consisted of the territorial Sovereigns, lay or clerical. The third House was made up of the Free Cities, which held directly of the Empire. These were the Estates of the Empire. But they did not, in the least, correspond to our Parliament. The Diet was an assembly of plenipotentiaries. There was no popular representation. There was no central authority capable of coercing a recalcitrant member to observe its decrees. At the opening of the sixteenth century an attempt had been made to provide for this by the setting up of an Imperial Court (*Reichskammergericht*), mainly nominated by the Princes and authorised to pronounce judgment upon cases arising between the territorial Sovereigns. In order to give this Court coercive sanction, the German lands were divided, 1512, into Ten Circles;¹ in each of which the Princes and Cities, who were entitled to a voice in the Diet of the Empire, were authorised to meet together and to levy troops for the maintenance of order.

¹ See Map VII in *C.M.H. Atlas*. They were (1) Austrian, (2) Burgundian, (3) Electoral Rhenish, (4) Franconian, (5) Bavarian, (6) Swabian, (7) Upper Rhenish, (8) Westphalian, (9) Upper Saxon, (10) Lower Saxon

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But these measures were of little use. There were no real safeguards for the maintenance of order: no prospect for united action. The special risk of such a constitution was that it provided only for the interests of Electors and Princes. It took no account of subjects, and none of the interests of the nation as a whole.

(2) Such were the inherent weaknesses of the constitution. But it was further tried by the growth of Protestantism up to the Peace of Augsburg. In 1558 a "Venetian ambassador calculated that a tenth part only of the German people still adhered to the ancient religion."¹ Ninety per cent of the population then had declared for Protestantism by the middle of the century. A change had swept over the surface of the nation; and there were no means of bringing its institutions into harmony with the course of events. The votes of the three ecclesiastical Electors were neutralised by those of the three lay Electors, all now Protestant. But in the House of Princes there sat thirty-eight ecclesiastical Sovereigns to eighteen laymen; while the House of Cities was never consulted until Electors and Princes were agreed upon the Proposition in question. In the *Reichskammergericht* the influence of the Princes was equally dominant. Thus, for measures in favour of Protestantism to pass in such a House, or for sentences in its interest to proceed from such a Court, was impossible. The legislative and judicial institutions of the Empire were Catholic, and the nation Protestant. The result was that they were ignored. Most of the lay Princes, and not a few of the ecclesiastical Sovereigns, adopted Protestantism. A new principle of disintegration was introduced, as these rulers were forced to act in opposition to the majority in the Diet. After the failure of Charles V to restore the religious and political unity of Germany by force of arms, the conflict ended in a compromise. The minority of the Princes backed by the majority of the nation showed themselves a match for the majority of the Princes backed by an Emperor who had the power but unfortunately too for the success of his cause the mind as well, of a foreign Sovereign.

(3) And thus came about the Peace of Augsburg, 1555

¹ Ranke, i. 101.

It was successful as a temporary settlement of the points in dispute: but lacked the prospect of permanence.

Its terms were "too vague and too distasteful both to Protestants and Catholics to furnish a satisfactory basis of peace."

It was agreed that Protestant Princes who, before the date of the Convention of Passau 1552, had seized ecclesiastical property within their own territories, might keep it for their own use or for Protestant worship, free from subjection to the authority of the Catholic clergy or to the law of the Catholic Church.

But there were ambiguities in its provisions about the future which, as Protestantism was still a growing movement, were certain to become fertile sources of disputes.

Thus, might the Protestant Princes seize more lands? There were still lay Princes who might turn Protestant. Might they also proceed to secularise Church property? Might the older Protestant Princes go on with the process of secularisation? By the provisions of the treaty, the Catholics seemed right in their contention that no such further liberty was granted. The letter of the law left all property unsecularised in 1552 in their hands. But this could not be accepted as a final solution, so long as Protestantism was a growing cause.

Again, might ecclesiastical Sovereigns turn Protestant and yet retain their sovereignty? Here, again, the Peace was open to rival constructions. The Protestants contended that they might; and then, on the principle recognised in the Peace and known as *Cuius regio, eius religio*, proceed to inflict the religion of the ruler upon his subjects. The Catholics replied that any bishop or abbot who turned heretic ought to be compelled to vacate his post; and this view of the case prevailed under the title of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*.

Such a Peace, acceptable as it was at the time to men who were tired of civil war, and jealous of the advantages which Philip II might gain from a prolongation of the strife, was pregnant with future evil.

Owing its origin to Electors and Princes, it paid no heed to the will of the people. It granted only a maimed toleration, namely to rulers: none to subjects. It neither adopted the religion of the vast majority, nor proclaimed an equality of

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religious rights to all. This was its "cardinal defect: it gave no security for freedom of conscience, but placed the settlement of religious questions in the hands of the territorial Princes."¹

Again, it made no provision for the recognition of Calvinism. No Prince had, as yet, adopted a Reformed Confession. But it might have been seen that Calvinism was even then the progressive form of Protestantism: and it was unstatesmanlike to pass it over as of no account.

Once more, the barriers which it set up against further change were too artificial. The choice of one year, 1552, as the standard by which to decide religious disputes, was too inelastic to last. So the fresh outbreak of civil war would only be a matter of time.

We have now to trace the events which slowly but surely led up to the Thirty Years' War, 1618-48. They fall into three periods. The first, 1555-76, was mainly occupied by the further advance of Protestantism. The second, 1576-98, covered years of reaction against it which staved off the war till there occurred a constitutional deadlock, to bring war into sight again. Then came twenty years, 1598-1618, during which parties fell into final shape round their respective leaders for attack or defence of the Counter-Reformation, as represented by the House of Austria.

§ 3. The advance of Protestantism, 1555-76, was rapid and general during these years. "In northern Germany, where the Protestant tenets had taken rise, they were entirely paramount."² Protestant "administrators now obtained eight bishoprics,³ including the important sees of Magdeburg, Bremen, Halberstadt, Lubeck, Verden, Minden, Osnabrück, in addition to others, such as Merseburg, Naumburg and Misnia—the bishoprics of Saxony—which had fallen into Protestant hands before. These changes were effected by an evasive stretch of the Peace of Augsburg. "The object of the [Ecclesiastical] Reservation," as the Protestants argued, "was not to keep the bishoprics in Catholic hands but to prevent quarrels arising between the bishops and their chapters. If therefore a bishop, elected

¹ R. Lodge, *Modern Europe*, 130.

² Ranke, i. 398.

³ S. R. Gardiner, *Thirty Years' War*, 12, and Map.

as a Catholic chose to turn Protestant, he must resign his see in order to avoid giving offence to the Catholic chapter. But where a chapter, itself already Protestant, elected a Protestant bishop, he might take the see without hesitation and hold it as long as he lived." ¹ Then, as he was Sovereign, by the principle *Quis regio, eius religio* his territories passed over to Protestantism. "A system of Imperial indulgences even made it possible for married prelates professing Protestant opinions to sit and vote as spiritual estates at the Diet." ² The Catholics contended that this was an illegal interpretation of the Peace: but it prevailed, and these were its results in the north. Moreover, the Protestant tenets "had gained permanent ascendancy in those districts of Southern Germany wherein they had been early introduced, and had besides extended their influence far and wide beyond these limits." ³ The nobles . . . the public functionaries . . . the common people" ⁴ were their adherents. In Germany, as elsewhere, "a large majority of the upper classes and of the men most active in public life were attached to them; whole nations were devoted with enthusiasm to these tenets, which had entirely changed the constitution of States." ⁵ "In all the provinces of Austria—of the German, Slavonic and Hungarian tongues—with the single exception of the Tyrol, Protestantism was in 1578 the predominant religion." ⁶

This great growth of reforming principles may be put down, amongst other causes, to one not yet indicated—the personal character and policy of rulers of the House of Hapsburg, in both the Empire and its hereditary dominions, in the days of Ferdinand I, 1558-†64, and his son Maximilian II, 1564-†76.

Ferdinand was Archduke of Austria, 1519; King of Bohemia, 1527; King of Hungary, 1527; King of the Romans, 1531; and Emperor, 1558-†64. He remained personally orthodox, but took no measures to repress reform. Spanish though he was, he strove to rule in the interests of peace and unity. He was the first Emperor who definitely

¹ Gardiner, 11.

² Ward, *Counter-Reformation*, 137; Ranke, i. 498.

³ Ranke, i. 398.

⁴ *Ib.*, 406

⁵ *Ib.*, 401.

⁶ *Ib.*, 450.

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gave up the old ceremony of a papal coronation. Henceforth, the elected King of Germany assumes at once the title of Emperor; and thus the Popes are deprived of their chief means of interference in German affairs, while the Emperor ceases necessarily to appear as the advocate of the Catholic Church. He advocated a liberal policy at Trent, as appears from the *Libellus Reformationis*¹ which he submitted to the Council on 22 May 1562; and he induced Pius IV to confirm the concession² of the Chalice to the laity which the Estates of Lower Austria had obtained in 1555, and those of Upper Austria in 1556. On the other hand, he felt that his own sympathies were equally entitled to consideration; and he introduced the Jesuits into Austria and Bohemia, giving them both steady and substantial support.

The conciliatory policy of Ferdinand was consistently maintained by his son and successor Maximilian II, 1564-176. He was even suspected of going further;³ and about the time of the Peace of Augsburg rumours got afloat of his inclination towards Protestantism. He avoided Catholic solemnities, and studied and made friends with Protestants. His father, though unwilling to go to the length of disinheriting him, as Paul IV demanded,⁴ endeavoured to reclaim him. Three nuncios—Hosius, Delfino and Commendone—in turn, used their best endeavours. But, when these heretical propensities stood in the way of his recognition by Pius IV as King of the Romans, they were put aside. He was elected, 1562, and duly confirmed. Dynastic ambition and family interests thus prevented his conversion, but he continued to pursue a policy of deliberate toleration. Thus, on the one hand, we find him, 1562, giving formal acknowledgment to the Moravian Brethren; and, on the other, refusing a demand of the Austrian Estates for the expulsion of the Jesuits; and, all the while, he stood firm against the pressure put upon him by Pius V to become a persecutor of heretics.

Thus Ferdinand, who was Catholic by persuasion but

¹ See above, ch. iv. § 12 (5).

² Pastor, xvi. 127 sq. Lower Austria is E., and Upper Austria W., of the Ems.

³ Philippson, 443.

⁴ Pastor, xiv 350.

conciliatory out of policy, and Maximilian who remained Catholic only from policy, maintained the principles of toleration from choice: and both united in completely surrendering the religious policy pursued by Charles V. "The Emperor no longer seeks to establish the religious unity of Germany, but stands as a mediator between the two opposing beliefs." Religion, which had formerly been a matter of imperial concern, now was no more than a question for each state. The states being thus left to themselves, Protestantism naturally increased, when no attempt was made by Emperor or Diet to interfere with the domestic government of the several rulers. But the increase of Protestant dominion was effected—or, at any rate, justified—by interpretations of the Peace of Augsburg which were open to contention; if they were not, as the Catholics contended, actual breaches of its provisions. "The Princes claimed the right of continuing to secularise Church lands within their territories as inseparable from their general right of providing for the religion of their subjects." And again, they claimed that the Protestant "bishops" or "administrators" were rightful Sovereigns; and that, despite the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*, or rather, according to their own interpretation, in virtue of it, they might go and do likewise. Out of these two disputes—the dispute about the secularised lands and the dispute about the Protestant "administrators," the Thirty Years' War arose.

But events were not ripe for war yet. It was at once staved off and prepared for by the reaction against Protestantism which covered the years 1576-98.

§ 4. The reaction was furthered by the disunion among Protestants.

The disputes between rival schools of theology we have already considered. They harried Melancthon to death. "'For two reasons,' he said, as he lay upon his death-bed, 'I desire to leave this life: first, that I may enjoy the sight which I long for, of the Son of God and of the Church in heaven; next, that I may be set free from the monstrous and implacable hatreds of the theologians.'" But the mischief of these disputes was that they were not confined to scholars. They did not die with the divines who wrote

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the folios and raised the dust of controversy. They entered into politics. "Each petty court soon had its own school of theologians . . . bitterly wrangling with one another . . . eager to call in the secular arm against their opponents. . . . The Protestants were taken at a disadvantage" ¹ The Jesuits stepped in, and made way. "The enthusiasm of a national life, which repelled the Jesuits in England of the sixteenth century, and the enthusiasm of scientific knowledge which repels them in the Germany of the nineteenth century, were alike wanting to a Germany in which national life was a dream of the past, and science a dream of the future." ²

As with their Court Chaplains, so with the Princes. When they should have acted in concert, Saxony and the Palatinate, the Lutherans of the north and the Calvinists of the south, remained at deadly feud.

Saxony was throughout this period fanatically Lutheran. Wittenberg had come to be the stronghold of Philippism or Crypto-Calvinism. A new university was presently founded at Jena in the interests of the stricter Lutheranism. Princes, as well as divines, became zealous for orthodoxy; and none more zealous than the Electors of Saxony. Thus Augustus, 1553-†86, attempted at first to maintain a moderate Lutheranism. But, under the influence of Flacius Illyricus and his school ³ and of his wife Anne, daughter of Christian III of Denmark, who was firmly attached to the Lutheran doctrines, ⁴ his opinions stiffened. He promulgated the *Formula of Concord*, 1580; and so harassed his Crypto-Calvinists that hopes were entertained at Rome, under Gregory XIII and still more, after the death of his wife 1585, under Sixtus V, of his conversion to the Catholic faith. ⁵ A similar zeal had distinguished a neighbour of his, Albert of Brandenburg, Duke of Prussia 1525-†68. Moved by the bigotry of his ultra-Lutheran clergy and nobility against Andrew Osiander, †1552, ⁶ he went so far as to execute his own Court preacher, Funck, 1566, amidst the acclamations of a psalm-singing mob. The successor of Augustus was Christian I, 1586-†91. Alive to the fact that, while the Protestants were thus

¹ Gardiner, 13.

² Lodge, 131.

³ Hardwick, 45, n. 1; 64, n. 1.

⁴ Ranke, i. 496.

⁵ *Ib.*, 497 n.

⁶ Hardwick, 64, n. 1.

spending their strength in internecine strife, the Counter-Reformation was actively at work,¹ he attempted, as a Philippist and under the influence of his Chancellor, Nicholas Crell, to secure toleration for the Calvinists as a basis of a general Protestant alliance. But he was met by vehement opposition from his subjects; who broke out into fury because he had abolished the formula of exorcism in baptism.² Upon his sudden death, the guardianship of his infant son Christian II, 1591-†1611, was left in the hands of a Lutheran relative. Crell was imprisoned, and put to death 1601, and Calvinism suppressed with a strong hand. Then upon the death of Christian II, followed the long and, for Protestantism, disastrous reign of John George I,³ 1611-†1656, his brother. He was a hard drinker and a bold huntsman, but nothing of a ruler. Slow to see danger, he held aloof from the forward policy of Protestants in the south; partly because of his sluggish temperament, partly from the imperial leanings traditional to his house,⁴ but chiefly because of his antipathy to Calvinism. This did incalculable harm to the Protestant cause.

In the Palatinate, owing to its geographical position, the influence of France and the Netherlands was strongly felt. This led to the establishment of Calvinism under Frederick III, 1557-†176. By the publication of the *Heidelberg Catechism*, 1563, he definitely sided with Geneva; and by the assistance which he sent to the Huguenots in France, 1567, under John Casimir, †1592, his son, he took his place at the head of the Reformed. Ruthless intolerance at home, exemplified in the execution of Silvanus at Heidelberg, 1573, marked him out as in full sympathy with Calvinism. His son and successor, however, Louis VI, 1576-†183, was a Lutheran; and he tried to effect a reconciliation between the two Confessions. He was as unsuccessful as Christian I of Saxony who attempted the same thing: and the scheme ended with his life. His son Frederick IV, 1583-†1610, mounted the throne; but, under the guardianship of his

¹ Thus, in 1590, Rome made her first convert among reigning Lutheran princes, in the person of James III, Margrave of Baden-Hochberg: Pastor, xxi. 143.

² Ward, 146; Lodge, 131.

³ Gardiner, 16, 22; Waid, 173; Lodge, 131.

⁴ Ranke, ii. 170, 176.

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uncle John Casimir, Calvinism regained its ascendancy. When Frederick IV came to rule in his own name, 1592, it was not only thoroughly re-established in the Palatinate but at the head of a general alliance against the Counter-Reformation. Little, however, was achieved; for, owing to Saxony refusing its co-operation, 1594, the efforts of Frederick IV came to nothing. He himself displayed no capacities above the ordinary, except for beer. Further, German Calvinism "owing to its adoption by the princes rather than by the people, failed in gaining that hardy growth which made it invincible on its native soil, in Scotland, or in the Netherlands. It was weaker and more provocative. Excluded from the Peace of Augsburg, Calvinists were wont to talk about the institutions of the Empire in a manner so disparaging as to give offence both to Lutherans and Catholics alike."¹

So the divisions of Protestantism were perpetuated. They continued till the eve of the Thirty Years' War: and all was playing into the hands of the Catholic Revival.

The progress of the Revival, 1576-98, was everywhere bound up with the advance of the Jesuits. Especially at the Courts and in the sphere of the higher education, they were to be found at the forefront of the movement. We may now pursue their progress in detail.

§ 5. To take, first, the ten Circles of the Empire.

(1) The Burgundian Circle included the Netherlands; and, as still in theory part of the Empire, they claim mention here. Besides, any change in the Netherlands would affect and, in turn, be reached upon by events in Germany. "At one period, Philip himself had hesitated to grant the Jesuits a fixed establishment in the Netherlands . . . the events of this war (*sc.* the war led by the Duke of Parma) led to their immediate return, and that under the decided protection of the government." Courtrai, Ypres, Bruges, Ghent, Antwerp and Brussels welcomed them. Their patron, the Duke of Parma, called in the Capuchins to assist them, 1585. Together, Jesuits and Capuchins, "transformed Belgium, which had previously been half Protestant, into one of the most decidedly Catholic countries in the world."²

(2) The Circle of the Lower Rhine bordered on the

¹ Gardiner, 17.

² Ranke, i. 473-5.

Burgundian Netherlands; and here the principle that triumphed in Belgium and Holland, viz. that only one religion must be tolerated in each state, moved various rulers to enforce the exclusive observance of the Catholic religion.

In Köln, Gebhardt II Truchsess von Waldburg,¹ Archbishop and Elector, 1578-83, resolved to marry his mistress and to protestantise his dominions, November 1582. To this end, he issued an edict, January 1583, granting religious liberty to his subjects, and in February, married the lady—Agnes of Mansfeld. His case was felt to be of extreme importance; for, if he retained his see, then there would be a Protestant majority in the College of Electors; and the *Ecclesiastical Reservation* would be stretched a point further. The Protestants had contended that it did not apply to the case of a prelate elected by a chapter already Protestant; but they had not hitherto dared to hold that a Catholic bishop might go over to Protestantism and yet retain his see in defiance of the chapter. Gebhardt II had the nobility on his side, and the sword of John Casimir of the Palatinate at his disposal, for the reduction of Köln. On the other side, he had to reckon with Pope Gregory XIII; who issued a bull of deposition, April 1583, and with Duke Ernest of Bavaria,² formerly his coadjutor and now Bishop of Liège, 1581-1612, whom the chapter elected in his place. He was a powerful rival; for he brought with him all the influence of the elder line of Wittelsbach which, at this time, was the only house of princes in the Empire remaining thoroughly Catholic. So important was the crisis felt to be that the Spaniards intervened after the Battle of Zutphen, 1583, while Henry of Navarre sought to utilise the situation for a general Protestant alliance. But the Lutheran princes refused to take part. Gebhardt II

¹ Ranke, i. 475-7; ii. 163; Pastor, vol. xx. c. viii.

² "En dépit des décrets du Concile de Trente, le prince Ernest de Bavière, bien qu'il eut prouvé de la manière la plus scandaleuse qu'il préférait les jupes aux surplis, obtint successivement les principautés ecclésiastiques de Freising, Hildesheim, Liège, Cologne, Münster et les grandes abbayes d'empire Stablo et Malmédy. C'était pour ces divers territoires le signe de la victoire de la réaction catholique. Car, bien qu'Ernest n'eût rien de religieux en dehors de son titre, on sa qualité de Wittelsbach il n'en persécutait moins les protestants et favorisait les jésuites." Bochner, 117.

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had become a Calvinist. In 1589, pressed by so many foes, he threw up the game; retired to Strassburg, where he was Dean; and died in exile, 1601. It was a great victory for the Catholics, and contributed largely to the re-establishment of the Catholic religion in other places. Ernest and, after him, Ferdinand, Archbishop and Elector of Köln 1595-†1650, both Bavarian princes, kept that city true; while the Council of Köln was steadfastly Catholic.

In Trier,¹ the Archbishop-Elector Jacob von Eltz, 1567-†81, took a strong line. Before he became archbishop, he had taken an active part in the introduction of the Jesuits into Trier, 1570. On his accession to the see, he put the visitation of the diocese into their hands. They forced even schoolmasters to sign the Tridentine *Professio Fidei*; subjected the clergy to a stricter discipline; and reorganised the ecclesiastical courts. It was felt necessary for ecclesiastical rulers to advance the reaction; for otherwise their authority would suffer the more from their unwilling subjects, because they were ecclesiastical and not lay princes. In 1572 the archbishop took the important step—always successful—of excluding all Protestants from Court and office. Lest their prospects should suffer, the nobles began to return to the communion of the Church. His successor, the Archbishop Lothair von Metternich, 1599-†1623, persevered in the same policy and would suffer no Protestant near his person. As he was both an able ruler and an affable man, he became highly popular; and the nobles could the less afford to stand aloof.

In Mainz again, Daniel Brendel von Homburg,² 1555-†82, was a good Catholic: and, though not so zealous or, perhaps, too prudent to disturb his city by proceeding to extremities, accomplished the complete restoration of Catholicism in the Eichsfeld, 1574; removed Protestant preachers from Heiligenstadt, and set up a Jesuit College there; made offices untenable by Protestants, and appointed a strict Catholic as high bailiff of his dominions who, in a consistent administration of six and twenty years, exchanged Protestant preachers for pupils of the Jesuits, and so ended by restoring

¹ Ranke, i. 427; ii. 163; Ward, 142; Pastor, vol. xx. c. viii.

² Ranke, 428; ii. 462; Ward, 142; Pastor, vol. xx. 231 sqq.

the Catholic religion to its supremacy both in town and country. What Archbishop Brendel left undone, was carried to a successful issue by those who came after him: Johann Adam von Bicken, 1601-†4, a pupil of the Jesuits and educated at the *Collegium Germanicum* at Rome, and Johann Schweikard von Kronenberg, 1604-†26, who completely extirpated heresy. He received two hundred Protestant inhabitants of Heiligenstadt back into the Church in two years: four hundred and ninety-seven converts having been made there between 1581-1601.

(3) Near to the Rhenish Electorates lay the Circle of Westphalia.¹ "The Catholic Clergy had been driven from Westphalia by Gebhardt II (Truchsess). They now returned, with other fugitives, and were held in great honour" after the failure of his schemes. At that very time, 1585; a neighbour, Duke Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg,² Protestant "Bishop" of Paderborn and Osnabruck and "Archbishop" of Bremen died. The elections went in favour of Catholics. Bernard von Waldeck, Bishop of Osnabrück, signed the *Professio Fidei*. The Bishop of Paderborn, Theodore von Fürstenberg,³ 1585-†1618, was a strict Catholic. In 1586 he excluded all Protestants from the chapter, and then proceeded to summon the Jesuits into his territories. In 1596 he threw into prison all priests who gave Communion in both kinds; and, though embroiled with his city, in 1604 he received its homage; magnificently endowed the Jesuit College; and issued an edict that all should choose between the Mass and banishment. In the important bishopric of Münster,⁴ the death of Henry of Saxe-Lauenburg⁴ by a fall from his horse, occasioned useful changes. Duke Ernest of Bavaria, already Archbishop-Elector of Köln and Bishop of Liège, was elected, 1585-†1612. The Jesuits arrived in 1587. By 1590 they had ample endowments, and a thousand scholars. Ernest also held the much-reduced bishopric of Hildesheim,⁵ 1573-†1612. and here also the Jesuits made good their position, with a residence and

¹ Ranke, I 477 sqq.

² Pastor, xx 316 sqq.: for his lineage, see O. Lorenz, *Genealogisches Handbuch der europäischen Staatengeschichte*, I. Tafel, 36 A (Stuttgart, 1908).

³ *Ib.*, 347; Boehmer, 117.

⁴ Pastor, xx 346.

⁵ *Ib.*, 286 sqq.

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endowments by 1590; and effected several brilliant conversions. Everywhere in Lower Germany the Catholic Revival was deeply indebted to the House of Wittelsbach; and, in particular, to Ernest—a prince who, for all his irregularities, did good service to the cause, though he tried the patience and the diplomatic skill of Sixtus V.¹

So much for the Ecclesiastical States of Westphalia. Cleves, one of the most important of its lay territories, had suffered from the vacillations of Duke William IV,² 1539–†1602, the younger brother of Anne of Cleves, the fourth wife of Henry VIII. His duchy had become a refuge for Protestants. But his son, Duke John William, 1592–†1609, was a zealous Catholic. Aided by his wife, Antonie, †1610, a princess of the House of Lorraine, he took effectual measures for the restoration of Catholicism: and “a great part in its consolidation was played by the Jesuits.”³

“Thus throughout Lower Germany, Catholicism acquired a degree of preponderance that, in course of time, might be matured into absolute supremacy.”⁴

(4) and (5) In the Circles of Upper Saxony (including the Electorate of Saxony, Anhalt, Brandenburg and Pomerania) and Lower Saxony (including Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel and Brunswick-Lüneburg, Mecklenburg and Holstein) Protestantism was so well rooted that there was no change. Nor did much of importance take place in (6) the Circle of the Upper Rhine. For this included Hesse and the Palatinate—the district, in fact, driven like a wedge into the region of Southern Catholicism, which forced the states comprised in it to be ever on the alert. But the dominions of the Abbey of Fulda⁵ were recovered by the exertions of the Abbot Balthasar Gravel, 1570–†1606, though six of his predecessors in succession had allowed Protestantism to spread unopposed. Encouraged by Gregory XIII, and relying upon the territorial principle confirmed to every Sovereign by the Peace of Augsburg, he summoned the Jesuits to Fulda, and expelled all preachers, clerical and lay, who declined to accept the Tridentine decrees. In three

¹ Ranke, i. 479 sq.

² Lorenz, I. Tafel, 25. He became insane.

³ Pastor, xx. 307.

⁴ Ranke, i. 481.

⁵ Ranke, i. 429, 481; Ward, 141; Pastor, xx. 204 sqq.; *Cath. Enc.* vi. 314.

years, 1573-6, the restoration was complete. A struggle followed, in the course of which he was himself expelled: but he returned in 1602, and the reaction was triumphant. Thus the sanctuary of German Christianity was recovered, and preserved in the ancient faith.

(7) Of Suabia, including Baden-Durlach and Baden-Baden with Würtemberg, nothing important is related except that Baden-Baden was completely won back by 1573—"the first case of the recovery of an entire Protestant province."¹

But in (8) Franconia, the Catholic Revival was steadily advanced by the Bishops of Würzburg and Bamberg.

Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn²—a castle in the Spessart—became Bishop of Würzburg, 1573-†1617. He was known as "the Solomon of Franconia"; and was a pupil of the Jesuits. At first, he shewed some inclination to follow the lead of Gebhardt II of Köln; but, on the failure of that prelate, Julius saw that it would equally serve his purpose of being absolute master in his realm, if he strictly enforced the Catholic religion. The Jesuits had been introduced into Würzburg, 1564, with the purpose of connecting them with the University, founded in 1567. But this project was only carried out on the conversion of the bishop to the reactionary régime. In 1584, accompanied by Jesuits, he made a visitation of his diocese; removed preachers and officials who refused to conform; and gave the people their choice between the Mass and exile. In one year, 1586, fourteen towns, two hundred villages, sixty-two thousand souls were recovered to Catholicism. The capital yielded at Easter 1587. The University³ was re-founded; and all the chairs of philosophy appropriated to the Jesuits. Old devotions were revived, and new ones invented. Pilgrimages, processions, the veneration of images and relics sprang into life again. The monasteries were re-occupied. Three hundred churches, whose tall and pointed spires still recall Bishop Julius to the traveller, had their foundations laid by him. The General of the Jesuits, Acquaviva, 1581-†1615, reported the triumphs of his Order to Sixtus V; who at

¹ Letter of the Jesuit Hoffaeus, quoted in Pastor, xx. 49.

² Ranke, i. 481 sqq., ii. 194; Pastor, vol. xx. c. v.; *Cath. Enc.*, v. 271.

³ *Cath. Enc.*, xv. 720.

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once expressed his acknowledgments to Bishop Julius, and confirmed to him solid privileges of patronage.

His neighbour was Ernest von Mengersdorf, Bishop of Bamberg,¹ 1583-191. In 1587 he was roused to emulate his brother of Würzburg, and announced that "he also would recover his subjects to the holy Catholic faith." He was succeeded by Neidhardt von Thungen, 1591-18, who had, as Dean of Würzburg, assisted Bishop Julius, and was resolved to mete out the same treatment to Bamberg. He found the whole of his Town Council Protestant but two; but this only stirred him to action. At Christmas 1595 he published his edict of reformation—the Mass or exile. Though opposed by the chapter, the nobles and the landed gentry, he carried it through; followed it up by others; and succeeded in securing the observance of the Catholic religion throughout his bishopric.

We now come to (9) the Bavarian Circle, which included Bavaria² proper, the Upper Palatinate, and Salzburg. The House of Wittelsbach sustained the cause of the Catholic Revival in Lower Germany; and its successive Dukes, being the most powerful of such of the lay princes as were Catholics, were its natural leaders in Upper Germany. It was the business of Albert V,³ 1550-179, and William V,⁴ 1579-97 (†1626), to secure the supremacy of Catholicism at home. Maximilian I,⁵ 1597-†1651, who was known as "Max the Catholic" and became the first Elector of Bavaria, 1623, by a policy at once moderate and resolute availed himself of the unity and resources of Bavaria to lead the Catholics in arms, when the war broke out, abroad. About 1550, the Duke was at perpetual war with the Diet and the cities. Being in need of money, he had to seek aid from his Estates, and this they would only grant in return for religious concessions. He fell back on the support of the Pope and the Jesuits. Pius IV pointed out, at an opportune moment, that each concession would but diminish the obedience of the Duke's subjects; and encouraged him to

¹ Ranke, i. 483; ii. 163; *Cath. Enc.*, ii. 244. It was a "profoundly decadent diocese," because of the bad morals of bishop, clergy, and monks. Pastor, xx. 190 sq.

² Ranke, i. 418 sqq.; Ward, 44, 140; Boehmer, 105 sqq.

³ Pastor, xx. 42 sqq.

⁴ *Ib.*, 51 sqq.

⁵ *Cath. Enc.*, x. 75.

resist by handing over to him one-tenth of ecclesiastical property. No longer in want of money, Albert V triumphed over his Estates. At a Diet held in 1563 at Ingolstadt, with the support of the prelates, he attacked the towns, which gave in. A conspiracy, real or pretended, was discovered among a handful of discontented nobles. It was adroitly turned into a pretext for excluding all nobles from the Diet. The Duke now found himself master in his own house; thanks to the principle laid down by the Peace of Augsburg which, though intended for the benefit of Protestantism, turned out more for the interests of Catholicism. The concession of the Chalice which, in April 1564, he had wrung out of Pius IV, he did not think it worth while to mention. The Jesuits, who had been introduced into the country under his father, Duke William IV, 1508-†150, had already made progress. In 1561 Albert V had sanctioned the setting up of a very active Commission of the *Index* at Munich, under Canisius and Peltau. Their College, founded there in 1559, soon emptied the higher Protestant schools. Another sprang up at Landshut, 1578. In Ingolstadt, the Jesuits were established in the University, on a sure footing, 1576; and though it never became a Jesuit institution, like the Universities of Dillingen and Innsbruck, yet it was to a great extent under the influence of the Order. Professors were required to sign the *Professio Fidei*, or else go. As for Dillingen,¹ the newly founded University, 1551, it was handed over to the Jesuits in 1563 by its founder, the Cardinal Otto Truchsess von Waldburg, Prince-Bishop of Augsburg, 1543-†173. This educational policy, which secured the upper classes, was accompanied by measures equally salutary throughout the country. Jesuit preachers were sent out into all places. All Protestant ministers and laity who persisted in heresy were forced into exile. Government officials had to take oath as Catholics, or else to be dismissed. So persistent, and so well received at Rome, were Duke Albert's efforts, that Gregory XIII conveyed to him certain spiritual prerogatives of discipline to exercise. Bavaria became "the champion of a great principle which was in the act of acquiring new power, and was long regarded by the less powerful German princes of

¹ *Cath. Enc*, iv. 795 sq.

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the Catholic faith as their leader." Territories dependent on his rule were forced to accept the reaction: as was the case with the County of Haag and the Margrave Philip of Baden-Baden, whose lands were summarily converted, 1570-1. Duke William V continued the same policy. Under him, the entire Faculty of Arts at the University of Ingolstadt was committed to the Jesuits. Everything was ready for the important part which Bavaria was to play, at the opening of the war, under Max the Catholic.

Salzburg, as included in the Bavarian Circle, must be mentioned here. It was the Archbishop of Salzburg, in 1563, who told the Fathers at Trent that no power on earth would induce his subjects to forgo Communion in both kinds. But in 1587 Wolff Dietrich von Raittenau became archbishop, 1587-†1612. He had been educated at the *Collegium Germanicum* at Rome; and Sixtus V was his model. He gave his subjects a month to decide between the Mass or exile.¹ Most of them preferred exile: and they were taken at their word. The archbishopric of Salzburg thus became thoroughly Catholic.²

Last comes (10) the Austrian Circle. It included part of the Hapsburg dominions—the Duchies of Upper and Lower Austria, Styria, Carinthia, Carniola, and the Tyrol. Of the rest, Bohemia belonged to the Empire, but not to the Circles; while Hungary lay outside both. They are best taken together. For that which gave unity and importance to the Hapsburg dominions was the Spanish and Catholic connexions of their rulers. Weak as the Empire became under Rudolph, 1576-†1612, and Matthias, 1612-†9; weak again as the hold of these princes lay on their hereditary dominions; every member of the House of Austria was either imbued with zeal for the Catholic cause by education in Spain or by marriage into the Spanish branch of the family, or else bound to the Catholic Revival by dynastic interest. The Imperial Crown had become hereditary in their family. To keep it, the Emperor Maximilian II, 1564-†76, wisely gave up the practice of subdividing the inheritance, and left Austria, Bohemia and Hungary all to his son Rudolf II³—a Spaniard in both religion and politics.

¹ *Cath. Enc.*, xlii. 414.

² Ranke, i. 491-3

³ Pastor, xx. 265.

When he proved incompetent, his brothers Maximilian and Albert renounced their claims in favour of their cousin, a man of more vigour but of like temper, Ferdinand, Duke of Styria, 1590, who afterwards became the Emperor Ferdinand II, 1619-157. Such was the policy of the Hapsburgs in their hereditary dominions. The opposition to sovereignty and to the Catholic religion was strong. They could not maintain their authority without strong measures in favour of the Catholic reaction. Even though the Emperor for the time being was, like Maximilian II, inclined to Protestantism, he had to throw himself in with the policy of his House.

(1) Austria,¹ under Rudolf, Archduke 1576-1608, became the scene of a revival, which increased in force and efficiency from year to year. He was a man of silent and solitary ways, who took delight in alchemy and performed his part in religious ceremonies with sombre diligence. From 1577, he preferred to live at Prague, and left the administration of Austria to his brother, the Archduke Ernest, who had been brought up with him in Spain, till 1595, when Ernest died. But the spirit of the government remained the same. The Protestants were not allowed a church in Vienna. Opitz, a strict Lutheran of the type of Flacius Illyricus, was their preacher, and conducted service in the Landhaus. He occupied himself mainly with attacks on the Jesuits. The Emperor Rudolf prohibited the Protestant worship; and, after a commotion on the Feast of Corpus Christi 1578, in which the Emperor himself was hustled as he walked in procession behind the Host, he banished Opitz and his followers by the edict of 21 June. This was the beginning. For the time, no attempt was made to interfere with the privilege of the Austrian nobility to hold and allow what religion they would upon their estates; but a strict Catholicism was enforced upon the towns, both around Linz in Upper Austria and around Vienna in Lower. The towns east of the river Enns, *sc.* of Lower Austria, could make no resistance, because they had separated from the knights and nobles in the Estates some twenty years before. So the Protestant ministers were removed; private persons subjected to examination; Protestants expelled from office;

¹ Runke, i 185 *sqq*; ii 166; Ward, 143 *sq*, 170

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only Catholics allowed the right of citizenship; regulations made for the University of Vienna and for all schools. These prescribed the exclusive observance of the Catholic worship, and the sole use of the *Catechism* of Canisius. Books were closely scrutinised, and the same spirit of severity carried into the ordinary affairs of life. West of the Ems, however, *i.e.* in Upper Austria, where nobles and cities were still at one, the Protestants were too strong to be interfered with. East of it, in Lower Austria, thirteen towns were won over and all the Crown lands became Catholic in a short time. The turn of Upper Austria came later, following upon the activities of a commission of 1599-1601. By 1628, Protestantism was extinct in Austria, Upper and Lower.¹

(2) Styria, Carinthia and Carniola,² upon the death of the Emperor Ferdinand I, passed to his son Charles as Archduke, 1564-1790. He was son-in-law to Duke Albert V of Bavaria; but it was not until about 1580 that he followed him in his policy with respect to religion. Albert gave his son-in-law three pieces of advice: first, to appoint Catholics only to office; next, to separate the Estates at the Diet, and to deal with each singly; and, third, to set up and maintain good relations with the Pope. Gregory XIII not only sent him money, but dispatched the nuncio Germanico Malaspina to his aid.³ The nuncio adroitly separated the bishops from the nobles, and attached them to the interests of the Archduke and his ministers. The Estates gave in; and Charles used the Peace of Augsburg to destroy every privilege of the nobles that stood in the way of the reaction. "Exile, confiscation, and severe chastisement for all who proved refractory" reduced the rest. Upon the death of the Archduke Charles, a revulsion of feeling took place; and things went back again. The government, during the minority of his son, the future Emperor Ferdinand II, 1619-1737, held its hand. The Protestants reinstated themselves in the churches of which they had been despoiled; their schools at Grätz began to flourish again; and the nobles leagued together to resist every attempt that might

¹ Ranke, ii. 210.

² *Ib.*, i. 488 *sqq.*; ii. 164 *sq.*; Waid, 144, 170; Boehmer, 118 *sqq.*

³ Pastor, xix. 63.

be made adverse to Protestantism. In 1596, so far had the reversion proceeded, that when the young Archduke Ferdinand kept Easter at his capital of Grätz, he was the only person who received the Sacrament according to the Roman rite, and there were only three other Catholics in the city. But Ferdinand—who was now to appear in public life along with Max the Catholic—was, like him, a pupil of the Jesuits. Political and religious motives together led him to make war on his capital, the centre of Protestantism in Styria. He declared that he would be master in his own house, as much as the Elector of Saxony or the Elector-Palatine. In 1597, he vowed before Clement VIII that he would restore Catholicism. In September 1598 he issued an edict, commanding all Protestant preachers to leave Grätz within fourteen days; in October, a second, of like purport, for Carniola; and in December, a third, for Carinthia, to the same effect. The Estates became intractable; but a fortunate advance of the Turk, which menaced the whole realm, compelled them to vote supplies. In 1599 the Protestant church in Grätz was closed. Then a commission, accompanied by an armed force, proceeded throughout the country. Styria, Carinthia, and Carniola were taken in turn. Protestant worship was prohibited; schools closed; preachers banished under pain of death; and the laity left to choose between conversion and exile with loss of goods. By 1603 the Archduke had the satisfaction of being able to count an accession of forty thousand communicants. But his success had its limits. In 1609, Ferdinand is found replying to a "renewed application" of the nobility and peasantry for the free exercise of their religion according to the *Confession of Augsburg*. There was little resistance, but probably less conviction. And outwardly the hereditary duchies of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola were once more Catholic.

(3) The Tyrol,¹ successively ruled by Ferdinand, †1595 (the son of the Emperor Ferdinand I), and his nephew Maximilian, †1620 (the son of the Emperor Maximilian II), as Counts of the Tyrol, never moved from the Catholic religion. It was too inaccessible to change: so that Canisius compared the Tyrolese and the Bavarians (he might have

¹ Ranke, i. 408

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thought, too, of the Walloons and the Irish) to the two tribes of Israel "who alone remained faithful to the Lord." But even here Ferdinand thought it necessary to enforce upon the clergy strict observance of their duties; and upon all classes regular attendance at the sacraments. His son, Cardinal Andreas, is credited with organising Sunday schools for the common people; and he issued catechisms to be used in the instruction of the youth and of the uneducated of all ages.

We come, last of all, to the rest of the Hapsburg dominions: Bohemia,¹ including Moravia and Silesia, within the Empire and Hungary²—so much of it, at any rate, as was not in the hands of the Turk—beyond it.

(4) Bohemia, which for nearly two hundred years had been the harbour for every form of heresy, was taken in hand by Rudolf II in 1581. Twenty years before, his father Maximilian II had given to the Bohemian Brethren an acknowledged religious status, 1562. Rudolf now withdrew it; and issued a royal ordinance exiling all the Bohemian Brethren from the realm. But these men were of great service to their country because of their skill and industry; nor would the nobles consent to the loss of their labour.³ For a time, the decree fell dead. The Protestants hoped that they too were effectually protected⁴ by the ancient privileges granted in 1433 by the *Compactata* of Basel to the Utraquists; for these privileges, in spite of their having been denounced in 1462 by Pope Pius II,⁵ had held their ground, and taken shape in a "national Utraquist ritual."⁶ But all sections of reformers were disappointed. The old Bohemian, Moravian or United Brethren (*vulgo* Waldenses), who separated from the Church in 1457,⁷ the Calvinist, and the Lutherans, whether Bohemian (Utraquist) or German, who had united in 1542,⁸ were all equally struck at by an edict of 1602. In this edict, Rudolf—under Jesuit,⁹ Capuchin and cognate influences—revived the former ordin-

¹ *C.M.H. Atlas*, Maps 5, 12, 28; Boehmer, 122 *sqq.*

² *C.M.H. Atlas*, Map 21.

³ Ranke, ii. 209 n.

⁴ *Ib.*, ii. 167.

⁵ Hardwick, *Middle Age*, 409, n. 2; Pastor, iii. 228 *sqq.*

⁶ Ranke, ii. 207.

⁷ Hardwick, *Middle Age*, 410, n. 1

⁸ *Ib.*, *Ref.*, 87, n. 4

⁹ The Jesuits entered Bohemia, 1552, *ib.*, 88, n. 2.

ance of 1581; deprived them of a settled status for their religion; and closed their churches.¹ Persecution followed. The "Carmel" of the Bohemian Brethren at Jungbunzlau, to the north-east of Prague, was put down. The Diet, however, resented the acceptance of the decrees of Trent by a Synod, and their enforcement by the Archbishop of Prague. Owing to the course of politics, an opportunity occurred to make the opposition effective; and, in 1608, the *Tres Ordines Evangelici*, i.e. the Bohemian Brethren, Saxons and Swiss, presented to Rudolf II a *Confessio Bohemica*² which, in 1575, they had submitted to his father; while, 1609, the Estates succeeded in wringing out of Rudolf the *Majestatsbrief* or Charter. It guaranteed freedom of conscience to every inhabitant of Bohemia, so long as he kept to one of the recognised creeds. Not, however, freedom of worship; for this was only granted to those who "sat in the Estates," i.e. to about fourteen hundred of the feudal aristocracy and forty-two towns.³ But these concessions were only temporary. A strong reaction set in under Ferdinand II,⁴ 1619-†37. It was steadily maintained by Prince Charles Lichtenstein; Ernest, Cardinal-Archbishop of Prague, 1624-†67, and Count Paul Michna, a pupil of the Jesuits, throughout the Thirty Years' War. The thoroughness of the Bohemian Counter-Reformation was without parallel. A revolution took place, under its auspices, in the position of the nobility, in education, and in the property of the country. Bohemia became Roman Catholic in religion, German in allegiance, absolutist in government. It was the one gain of the War, and of the House of Austria.⁵

(5) Hungary did not offer so fair a field for the Catholic Revival as the other Hapsburg dominions. All through the sixteenth century it had been the frontier of Europe in a life-and-death struggle with the Turks. They were a standing menace to the authority of the Hapsburgs; and supported a succession of Princes like John Zapolya, †1540, Prince of

¹ Ranke, ii. 167.

² Niemeyer, 819 sqq. : to be distinguished from the *Confessio Bohemica*, presented 1535, to Ferdinand I q.v. in Niemeyer, 771 sqq.

³ S. R. Gardiner, *Thirty Years' War*, 25.

⁴ Ranke, ii. 206-10; Ward, 180-2.

⁵ Boehmer, 122 sq.

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Transylvania; Stephen Bocksai, from 1605 onwards, ruler of Hungary and Transylvania as well, and Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania, 1613-†29. These political opponents of the Hapsburgs naturally made common cause with the religious opposition which entered the country and took deep root there during the civil war, 1526-40, and the reign of Ferdinand I, 1526-†64. From 1557 the Protestantism of these regions was mainly of the Swiss type, though Lutherans and anti-Trinitarians were to be found there as well. The Catholic Revival began with the introduction of the Jesuits and their College at Tyrnau, on the north-west border, which they owed to Nicolaus Olahus, Archbishop of Gran,¹ 1537-†68. It did not make much progress at first; until Rudolf II, in spite of the Turkish occupation, began active operations toward the end of his reign. His Generals seized the churches of Kaschau and Klausenburg, to the north and the south respectively of that part of the country then under Turkish influence, and took them from the Lutherans; and, with the aid of the royal troops, the Archbishop of Kolocsa sought to force thirteen towns of the province of Zips to accept Catholicism. Rudolf met the remonstrances of the people with an expression of his determination to reinstate the Catholic Church,² 1604. The threat provoked the rebellion of Bocksai, which cost the Emperor his Hungarian Crown. Upon peace with the Turks in 1606, it went to his brother the Emperor Matthias. He had to confirm, by way of return, the code of laws in which freedom of worship was conceded to both Saxon and Swiss in 1608.³ During the reign of Matthias as King of Hungary, 1608-†19, Protestantism, in either form, continued to maintain itself owing to the support which it received from the Protestant Bethlen Gabor, Prince of Transylvania. In endeavouring to hold the balance between Hapsburg and Turk, he naturally availed himself of it. But under Ferdinand II, 1619-†37, the cause of Protestantism declined. The course of events, the favour of the Government, and, above all, the exertions of the Jesuit Cardinal Pazmany,⁴ Archbishop of Gran, 1616-†37, led to the triumph of Catholicism. At the Diet of 1625, the Austrian and Catholic party had

¹ Ranke, i. 412.

² *Ib.*, ii. 171.

³ *Ib.*, ii. 167.

⁴ Boehmer, 124; *Cath. Enc.*, xi. 495.

the majority. And the reason for their dominance was that, whereas in Austria and Bohemia the nobles had everything to gain by their adoption of Protestantism, "in Hungary the magnates resigned no one of their rights by conforming to Catholicism; they may rather be said to have acquired increased privileges."¹

As for the net result of the Catholic Revival in Austrian lands, it may be noted that, about 1675, the Jesuits had six universities, fifty-five colleges, twenty-eight seminaries, and five "pensionnats gratuits," or, in other words, complete dominance in education. But thousands of families, German or Czech, had been expelled in the process; and Austria lost proportionately.²

§ 6. It remains to estimate the causes for this rapid progress of the Catholic Revival. "It was an immeasurable reaction," says Ranke. "The Protestant doctrines were now repulsed with an energy equal to that with which they had formerly advanced. Preaching and the inculcation of Catholic doctrines contributed their share to the production of this result; but much more was accomplished by political measures, especial ordinances, and open force."³

Chief among the causes which contributed to the Revival was the address of the Jesuits. "In zeal and prudence, they left nothing to be desired. . . . They possessed the power of captivating the crowd, so that their churches were always the most eagerly frequented." Coupled with their religious zeal went "their practical skill in controversy. . . . They were active in works of benevolence; they healed the sick, and laboured to reconcile enemies." Besides "preaching" and "healing," a third of our Lord's own ministerial methods⁴ formed a prominent part of their activities, viz. "teaching." Education came to be predominantly in their hands. "The Jesuits had educated not only ecclesiastical but also temporal princes. At the close of the sixteenth century, their two illustrious pupils," the Emperor Ferdinand II, 1619-†37, and the first Elector of Bavaria, Maximilian I (Max the Catholic), 1597-†1651, his son-in-law, "appeared in public life":⁵ and together they carried the reaction through.

¹ Ranke, ii 211.

² Boehmer, 211.

³ Ranke, i. 194

⁴ Matt iv. 23; ix. 35.

⁵ Ranke, ii. 164.

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Next to the zeal and efficiency of the Jesuits may be reckoned the co-operation of the papal nuncios. A good example of this is to be found in the memoir of Minuccio Minucci, 1588, containing a plan of campaign for the restoration of the Catholic religion. In the education of the future clergy "there should not be so much attention given to producing great scholars, or profound theologians, as good and effective preachers; a man of moderate acquirements . . . was, in his opinion, the most extensively useful teacher and most profitable servant of the Church." It was "on the nobles" that "the maintenance of Catholicism in Germany depended; for to this class belonged . . . ecclesiastical appointments. . . . The nobles," therefore, "must be carefully protected and conciliated." It was hardly possible to coerce the Protestant Princes. They had become much too powerful. But "the end desired might eventually be attained," if "a good understanding" were preserved between "the Catholic Sovereigns, especially Bavaria and Austria." He even thought it possible to win back some of the Protestant Princes; and much more effective use might, in his opinion, be made of the Supreme Court (*Reichskammergericht*) and other institutions of the Empire. And Minucci's suggestions obtained a hearing. "At the moment when they were laid before the authorities in Rome, preparations were made in Germany for carrying them into effect."¹

A third contributory cause was the readiness of Princes to co-operate with the Jesuits, with each other, and with the Pope. The attack had first isolated and then consolidated the defence; and the Roman Church, reduced to the defensive, eventually sallied forth in greater force than in the days before the Reformers had assailed her exclusive but easy-going pre-eminence.

Fourth, the changed character of the Empire, no less than the change which had come over the papacy, did much for the Revival. The change came with Rudolf II, persisted under Matthias and Ferdinand II, and lasted from 1576-1637. "It was a great thing that the policy of his two predecessors" (Ferdinand I and his son Maximilian II) "was given up by Rudolf; and that the Imperial influence,

¹ Ranke, i. 494-500; and Pastor, xxii. 122-30, for a full summary.

however small, was henceforward assured to the Catholics. They were now determined to enforce throughout the Empire their interpretation of the religious Peace [of Augsburg] and especially of the *Ecclesiastical Reservation*." ¹ The Emperor returned, in fact, to the aims and methods of Charles V.

Last, we may mention the successful manipulation, in the Catholic interest, of the judicial machinery of the Imperial Constitution. In the *Kammergericht*, preponderance was secured to the Catholic members of the tribunal. Minucci had suggested this move, in 1588. By about 1600, the thing was done; and "judgments had been pronounced by it in accordance with the Catholic mode of interpreting the Peace of Augsburg." ² Such pronouncements had, no doubt, been encouraged by three cases which had practically decided themselves in the Catholic interest; the extrusion, 1581, of Gebhardt II, Elector of Köln, from his archbishopric, on becoming a Protestant; the repudiation, 1582, of Joachim Frederick, afterwards Elector of Brandenburg, 1598-1608, who, though a Protestant, had, as "Archbishop" of Magdeburg, claimed the Presidency of the College of Princes; and a similar case in the College of Cities. "Aachen, long a Catholic city, had fallen at last under the government of a Protestant majority. An attempt was made to exclude its deputies from the Diet, but the other towns regarded this as an attack on their liberties, and admitted the deputies, though they had received no regular summons. This also remained unsettled till 1598, when Catholicism was restored in Aachen by a military force." ³ There was another tribunal, the *Reichshofrath* or Aulic Council, which once gave some hope to a litigant, defeated in the *Kammergericht*, of redress or revision: "but the Aulic Council was not only more decidedly Catholic than the *Kammergericht*, it was also entirely dependent upon the Court." ⁴

Thus there followed a constitutional deadlock. "The Diet could come to no decision; and, even if it did, they were rejected by the minority. The judicial Courts were on the side of one party, and the other refused to recognise

¹ Lodge, 132.

³ *Ib.*, 133.

² Ranke, II 168.

⁴ *Ib.*

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their authority.”¹ An appeal to arms was inevitable. It happened in the Thirty Years’ War, 1618–48; and this was brought to a conclusion, upon the exhaustion of both sides, by the Peace of Westphalia,² 1648. The religious settlement which it effected “followed the lines laid down at Passau, 1552, and Augsburg, 1555. The one important difference was that Calvinism at last obtained formal recognition.”³

Thus half Europe was secured for the Roman Catholic Church: and Protestantism was put on its proper level, as consisting of two sects, Protestant and Reformed, in separation from each other and from the Catholic Church.⁴ The gains of the Counter-Reformation seemed all on the side of the Roman Catholic Church: for, besides the reconquest and extension of territory which went steadily onwards from that date, she recovered the practice of true religion. “The great and rapid victories of the sixteenth century were gained over the unreformed and disorganised Catholicism of the Renaissance, not over the Church which had been renovated at Trent. Rome, with a contested authority and a contracted sphere, developed greater energy, resource and power than when it exercised undivided sway over Christendom in the West.”⁵

¹ Lodge, 133.

² Mirbt⁴, Nos. 518–26; Ranke, ii. 286 *sqq.*; Gardiner, 209; and *C.M.H. Atlas*, Map 40.

³ Lodge, 150.

⁴ The terms “Protestant” and “Reformed” are here used in their historical sense. “Protestant” to mean “Lutheran” and “Reformed” to mean “Calvinist.” The English Church has, at times, been influenced by both of these movements but is distinguished from both by having retained the episcopate. At the Savoy Conference, 1660, its bishops repudiated the title “Protestant” on the ground that “it most properly belongs to those that profess the Augustan Confession” (E. Cardwell, *Conferences*, 338): while in 1689 the Prolocutor on behalf of the Lower House of Convocation, refused to let the Church of England be classed with “protestant churches” on the ground that the term was “equivocal . . . Socinians, Anabaptists and Quakers assumed that title” (*ib.* 445). Nor was the English Church even “Reformed,” though repeated attempts were made in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries to impose the Calvinistic Faith and Discipline upon her. “The English Reformation is a thing by itself” (C. Beard, *Hubert Lectures*, 300); and the English Church did not need a Counter-Reformation in order to maintain or recover communion with the Catholic Church except on the papal theory.

⁵ Lord Acton, *Lectures on Modern History*, 124 *sq.*

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